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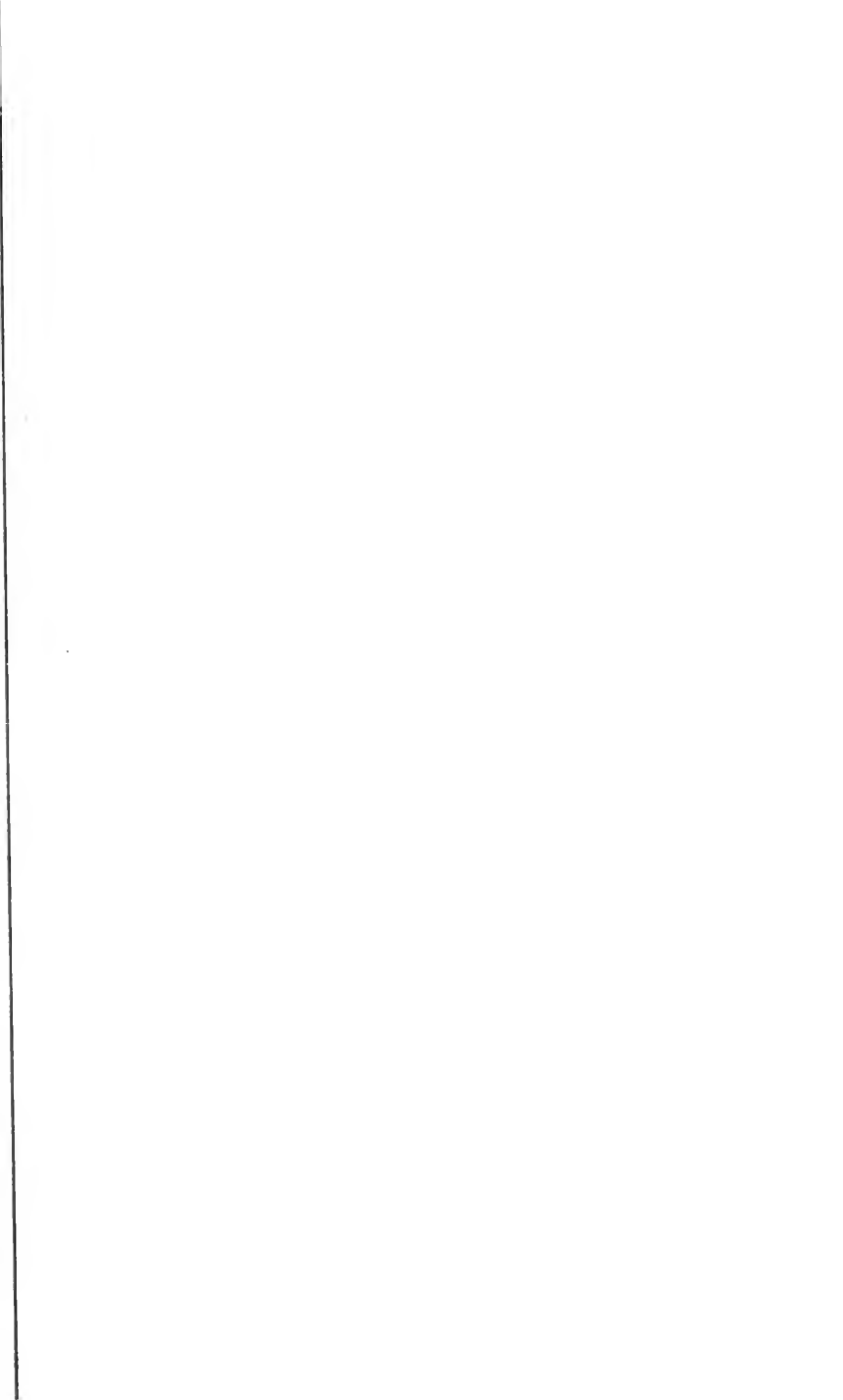
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A HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND
FROM THE FIRST
INVASION BY THE ROMANS.

BY
JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

VOLUME XIV.

THIRD EDITION.

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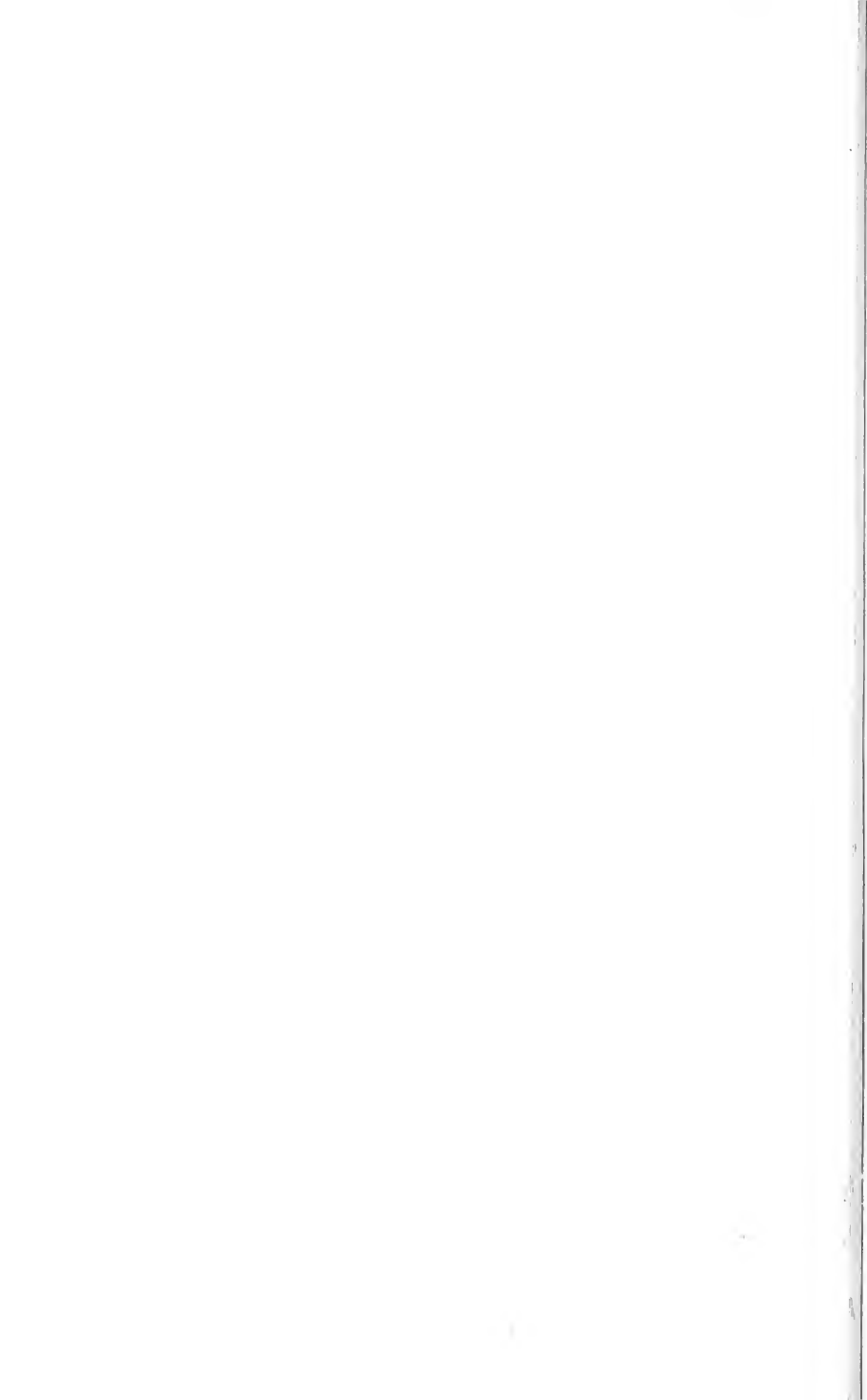
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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

JAMES II.

KING'S SPEECH ON HIS ACCESSION—HE LEVIES DUTIES WITHOUT AUTHORITY—PRACTISES HIS RELIGION OPENLY—DEMANDS MONEY OF LOUIS—PARLIAMENT IN SCOTLAND—IN ENGLAND—INVASION BY ARGYLE—BY MONMOUTH—THEIR DEFEAT AND EXECUTION—CRUELITIES IN THE WEST—THE KING'S PROJECTS OPPOSED IN PARLIAMENT—PROROGATION—INTRIGUES OF THE MINISTERS—COUNTESS OF DORCHESTER—DISPENSING POWER—ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION—SCOTLAND—IRELAND.

FROM the death-bed of his brother the new king withdrew to his closet, and, after a decent pause, proceeded to the apartment in which the council was assembled. He desired the members to retain the several charges which they held during the late reign, and declared it to be his wish to imitate the good and gracious sovereign, whose loss they deplored. "I have been reported," he continued,

CHAP. I.
1685.

The king's speech to the council.

CHAP. "a man for arbitrary power; but that is not the
 I.
 1685. only story which has been made of me. I shall
 ————— make it my endeavour to preserve this govern-
 ment, both in church and state, as it is now by
 law established. I know the principles of the
 church of England are for monarchy, and the
 members of it have shown themselves good and
 loyal subjects: therefore I shall always take care
 to defend and support it. I know too that the
 laws of England are sufficient to make the king as
 great a monarch as I can wish: and, as I shall
 never depart from the just rights and prerogatives
 of the crown, so I shall never invade any man's
 property. I have often heretofore ventured my
 life in defence of the nation, and I shall still go as
 far as any man in preserving it in all its just
 rights and liberties." This speech was joyfully
 and gratefully received; James assented to the
 request that it might be published; and, as he
 had not committed it to paper, a copy was made
 on the spot by Finch the solicitor-general, and
 approved as correct by the king¹.

He is pro-
 claimed.

The moment the council was dissolved, the lords
 proclaimed the new sovereign at the gate of
 Whitehall, at Temple-bar, and at the Royal Ex-
 change. In imitation of the precedent set at the
 accession of James I. wine was distributed among
 the spectators to drink the king's health, and the
 crowd, after the usual acclamations, peaceably dis-

¹ James, ii. 3. Fox, App. 16. Kennet, 427.

persed. During his brother's sickness James had ordered the ports to be closed, and had stationed strong bodies of troops in different parts of the city. But the result proved that these precautions were unnecessary. Not a murmur was heard; no attempt at riot or resistance was made; never did prince succeed more tranquilly to the throne².

C H A P.

1.
1685.

The king's speech gave universal satisfaction, and the address of the bishops, presented the next day, served to confirm this favourable impression. He had anticipated all their wishes, had promised all that they could ask. They would treasure his words in their hearts, and make it their prayer that God would render his reign happy and suitable to these glorious beginnings, and afterwards crown him with glory in the world to come. The same sentiments were repeated by the two universities, and generally echoed from the pulpits; so little did the clergy foresee that in less than three years the time would come, when they would have to reproach him with the breach of his promise, and he would charge them with apostacy from their principles³.

Addresses

Feb. 7.

The first question which claimed the attention of the new monarch was the state of the revenue. The parliamentary grant of one half of the excise, and of the whole of the customs, expired at the

Taxes
continued
by royal
authority.² Fox, App. 16.³ Clar. Corresp. ii. App. 471. Gazette, 2018.

CHAP. death of his brother⁴: was he then to content
 I.
 1685.

himself with a mutilated income, confessedly inadequate to the wants of government, or to continue the former duties till the meeting of parliament, by his own authority and contrary to law? He chose the latter part of the alternative; but at the same time, to gratify the wishes of the people, he resolved to call a parliament, and, that he might claim the whole merit, to call it before the request should be urged by any public body, or the advice be suggested by the privy council.

Feb. 9. A parliament was accordingly summoned to meet on the 19th of May, and a proclamation issued, which, alleging state necessity as the cause, ordered the usual duties to be levied on merchandize, till parliament should have settled the revenue of the crown. That such a measure was illegal did not admit of doubt; nor were the enemies of James slow to point to it as a proof of the meaning which he attached to his promise of “never invading any man’s property⁵.” But the

⁴ One portion of the duties, the additional excise amounting to 550,000*l.* a-year, might, according to the act of parliament, be farmed for the space of three years, and remain in force till the expiration of that term. James was careful to have the lease renewed and signed by his brother the day before his death. *Gazette*, 2009. Fox, App. 39. This portion therefore he could levy by law.

⁵ Some thought that the duties should be paid into the exchequer, and remain there, to be disposed of by parliament, others that no money, but bonds for subsequent payment, should be taken. Both expedients were contrary to law. As the duties

nation cheerfully acquiesced. The necessity of levying the duties was considered as a satisfactory apology; and the very language of the proclamation implied an acknowledgment of the constitutional maxim that money could not lawfully be raised without the authority of parliament. The barristers of the Middle Temple presented to the king an address of thanks; the great companies of merchants trading to the Baltic, to the East Indies, to Africa, and to Maryland, Hudson's Bay, and Jamaica, assured him of their ready compliance, and imposts contrary to law, which in the reign of Charles I. would have thrown the whole nation into commotion, were submitted to without opposition or complaint⁶.

Of the ministers of the late king, the only man who held (and by his undeviating devotion to the interests of the duke he deserved to hold) a high

CHAP.
I.
1685.

The mi-
nisters—
Rochester

were not in existence, neither the money nor bonds for money could be legally required.

⁶ Lord Lonsdale, Mem. 4. Fox, App. 18, 39. Burnet, iii. 9. Kennet, iii. 427. Ralph, 847. Barillon, 22 Fev. Dalrymple has published but few extracts from the despatches of Barillon after the death of Charles II. Mr. Fox procured copies of those which were written during the reign of James, but the appendix to his history, as well as the history itself, is confined to the transactions of a few months. Mr. Mazure had access to all the documents in the dépôt des affaires étrangères, but he contented himself with embodying the information which he derived from them in his valuable work, *Histoire de la Revolution de 1688*. In the following pages, whenever I annex the date of the letter, the reader will understand that I refer to the unpublished letters. The same may be observed of the references to the despatches of D'Avaux and Bonrepaus.

CHAP. place in the favour of James, was the earl of
 I. Rochester. He had not, hitherto, taken posses-
 1685. sion of his government of Ireland, and the death
 — of Charles opened a more brilliant prospect to his
 ambition. James did not wait to be asked, but
 without previous solicitation placed the staff of
 lord high treasurer in the hands of his friend.
 The near relationship of Rochester to the first
 duchess of York, joined to his more recent ser-
 vices, justified the partiality of the king; and the
 avowed attachment of the new treasurer to the
 interests of the church, in which point he pre-
 tended to inherit the sentiments of his father
 Clarendon, assured him of the support of all who
 sought the welfare of the establishment⁷.

Godolphin Lord Godolphin, who, by the elevation of
 Rochester, lost his place of first commissioner of
 the treasury, had little claim to the gratitude of
 the new king. But James had learned to appre-
 ciate his value from the services which he had
 rendered to the last monarch, and appointed him
 chamberlain to the queen, whose esteem he soon
 acquired, and whose confidence he repaid by a long
 and devoted attachment. Even after the revolu-
 tion, when he had attained to the highest honours
 under the new dynasty, Godolphin continued to
 maintain a clandestine correspondence with Maria
 d'Este till his death⁸.

⁷ James, ii. 8, 63. Fox, App. 16, 18, 30, 34, 50. Burnet, iii. 8.

⁸ Fox, App. 34, 50. Burnet, iii. 8, note.

Halifax had more reason to dread the royal CHAP. resentment: yet, when he attempted to apolo- I. gize, James interrupted him with this gracious 1685. declaration, that of his former conduct he remem- Halifax. bered nothing except his opposition to the bill of exclusion. But he soon discovered that he was not admitted to the royal confidence, and that the arts which he had so lately practised might be turned against himself. He was compelled to accept the higher but empty honour of lord president, that he might quit the more lucrative office of privy seal to the earl of Clarendon, Rochester's brother⁹.

But of all the earl of Sunderland had sinned the most deeply. After his first offences had been Sunderland. forgiven, after he had sworn inviolable fidelity to the interests of the duke, he had recently been detected in a new intrigue with the duchess of Portsmouth, having for its object the removal of James from the court. But Sunderland possessed a wonderful facility of disarming the resentment, and worming himself into the confidence of those whom he had offended. He observed to the king that now, if he were retained in office, he could have no hope of favour or preferment but from the merit of his services; he converted the enmity of the two brothers Clarendon and Rochester into friendship by persuading them that he had privately advocated their interest with the sovereign; he pro-

⁹ Fox, App. 38. Burnet, iii. 7.

CHAP. cured through Barillon a strong recommendation in
 I.
 1685. his favour from the king of France; and, to secure
 — the good will of the catholics, he held himself out
 to them as the warm and uncompromising champion of toleration in the cabinet. James yielded to so many arguments and entreaties; Sunderland was retained in his former office of secretary; and it soon appeared that he, Rochester, and Godolphin were the only ministers possessing the confidence of the monarch¹⁰.

Secret
 cabal.

But Sunderland did not confine his ambition to the secretaryship; he aspired to the staff now held by Rochester; and, to supplant his rival, was careful to propose in council measures in behalf of the catholics, which he knew that James would secretly approve, and that Rochester, in accordance with his avowed principles, would certainly oppose. For greater security he connected himself with three catholics, from whose friendship he promised himself considerable advantage, Richard Talbot an Irish gentleman, Henry Jermyn, nephew to the late earl of St. Albans, and Edward Petre, a jesuit, and brother to the lord Petre who had died in the Tower. Talbot and Jermyn had been faithful and devoted servants to the duke in all the vicissitudes of his fortune, and Petre, a weak but plausible man, had long been distin-

¹⁰ "Le conseil du cabinet ne se tient que pour la forme. Le roi d'A. confère tous les jours avec mylord Rochester, et Sunderland, et mylord Godolpin, ensemble et separément. C'est avec eux que les resolutions se prennent." Barillon, 22 Fev.

guished by him with particular marks of friend- CHAP.
 ship. These four, if we may believe the king ^{I.}
 himself, met in private, talked over their services ^{1685.} —
 and pretensions, and engaged to aid each other in
 the acquisition of the objects of their ambition, of
 the treasuryship for Sunderland, of a peerage and
 the government of Ireland, subject to a *douceur* to
 Sunderland, for Talbot, of a peerage and the cap-
 taincy of the horse guards for Jermyn, and of a
 cardinal's hat for Petre. In pursuit of the same
 object Sunderland established, with the consent of
 the king, a secret board to watch over the interests
 of the catholics, which should meet at his office,
 or at the lodgings of Chiffinch, page of the back
 stairs. The first members were the lords Arundel
 and Belasyse, Jermyn who was created lord
 Dover, and Talbot, who obtained the command
 of a regiment in Ireland; to whom father Petre
 was soon added, and subsequently the earls of
 Powis and Castlemaine. Of these Powis, Arundel,
 and Belasyse were considered as the more mode-
 rate in their views; the others advocated bolder
 measures, and were supported by the policy of
 Sunderland ¹¹.

With this board James debated a question of The king
 considerable delicacy and importance, respecting ^{hears}
 the practice of his religion. Of his attachment ^{mass}
 to the church of Rome, after the sacrifices which ^{openly.}
 he had made, every man must have been con- ^{Feb. 12.}

¹¹ James ii. 63, 64, 74, 76, 77. Fox, App. 17, 25, 48, 69.

CHAP. I.
1685. vinced : and the question now was whether, after his accession to the throne, he ought to be content with the clandestine exercise of the catholic worship, or openly to attend a form of religious service still prohibited by law. The latter accorded better with that hatred of dissimulation which was believed to mark his character, and was moreover recommended to his choice by the reflection, that if he were ever to make a public profession of his religion, he might do it with less inconvenience at the beginning, than at any subsequent period of his reign. As early as the second Sunday after his brother's death, in opposition to the advice of the council, he ordered the folding doors of the queen's chapel to be thrown open, that his presence at mass might be noticed by the attendants in the antichamber. This circumstance revealed nothing which was previously unknown : yet the boldness, with which the king displayed his contempt of the law, alarmed the zeal of the bishop and the clergy of London, and the pulpits began to resound with declamations against popery, and predictions of danger to protestantism. James in his turn grew alarmed : he sent for all the prelates in town : he complained of such treatment as dangerous to the state, and unprovoked on his part ; and he renewed his promise of protection to the church, but with a significant hint, that he should think himself absolved from his word, the moment the church should swerve from its engagements to him. The

conclusion was that the bishops undertook to CHAP. restrain within due limits the zeal and intem- I. perance of the preachers¹². 1685.

In a few days the murmurs which had been excited, died away; but they were quickly revived by the impatience or the imprudence of the king. He could see no reason why difference of religion should make any difference in the respect usually paid to the sovereign: and therefore announced April 15. to the council his intention of going with the usual state to the queen's chapel on particular occasions, and his expectation that the ministers and officers of the household would accompany him as far as the door, and attend on him there on his return. Sunderland offered no objection, and Godolphin by his office of chamberlain was compelled to wait on the queen: but Rochester, aware that his reputation for orthodoxy was at stake, absolutely refused to be present without an express order from the king, and was with difficulty persuaded to accept of the royal permission to spend a short time in the country¹³. The next April 16. day, being Holy Thursday, James accompanied by his guards and the gentlemen pensioners proceeded to the chapel and received the sacrament, and on Easter Sunday he was in the like manner April 19. attended by the knights of the garter with their collars, and by a great number of the nobility,

¹² Fox, App. 37, 41. Barillon, 22 Fev. ; 12 Mars. See note A.

¹³ Fox, App. 46.

CHAP. both as he went, and as he returned to his own
 I. apartment¹⁴. The proceeding itself proved no-
 1685. thing more than his attachment to the parade of
 ——— royalty: but in the minds of many it excited
 considerable uneasiness: men thought that they
 discovered in it a design of restoring step by step
 the public celebration of the catholic worship,
 and they exhorted each other to watch with jea-
 lousy the subsequent conduct of the new monarch,
 and to hold themselves in readiness to defend on
 the first aggression the rights of the established
 church¹⁵.

And dis-
 charges
 recusants
 from pri-
 son.

There happened at the same time another
 transaction which served to confirm this impres-
 sion. The reader will recollect the attempt made
 in the last year to procure the liberation of the
 catholics and dissenters detained in prison under
 the laws of recusancy. In the week before the
 death of Charles, the question had been brought
 a second time under the notice of the council, and

¹⁴ It was the custom for the lord who bore the sword, to enter the chapel with the king when the latter communicated, and on that account Lord Powis, a catholic, carried it on the first day; on the second it was borne by the duke of Somerset, a protestant, who stopped, according to custom, at the door. But the dukes of Norfolk, Grafton, Richmond, and Northumberland, and many other noblemen, entered and accompanied the king as far as the gallery. Barillon, 26 et 30 Avril. Fox, App. 47.

¹⁵ Les protestants zélés trouvent fort à redire à cette nouvelle demarche. Ils s'imaginent que l'intention de S. M. B. est d'accoutumer le monde peu à peu à voir la religion catholique dans l'éclat où elle doit être ici, étant la religion du prince. Barillon, 26 Avril. Fox, *ibid*.

a second time postponed, that the opinion of the attorney-general might be obtained. But James was not to be checked by the cautious motives which swayed the mind of his brother: he gave it in charge to the judges to discourage prosecutions on matters of religion, and ordered by proclamation the discharge of all persons confined for the refusal of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In consequence the dissenters enjoyed a respite from the persecution which they suffered under the conventicle act; and catholics to the amount of some thousands, quakers to the amount of twelve hundred, were liberated from confinement ¹⁶.

It has been of late a subject of dispute, whether at this period of his reign the king had formed an intention of restoring the catholic religion to its ancient ascendancy, by making it the religion of the state, or merely sought to relieve its professors from the galling restrictions and barbarous punishments to which they were still subject by law. To me, from his frequent and confidential communications with Barillon, it seems evident, that he limited his views to the accomplishment

His design in favour of the catholics.

¹⁶ The prosecution of Baxter did not form an exception. He was charged with having preached a seditious sermon, not with any offence under the conventicle act. The proclamation and the number of quakers liberated may be seen in Sewell, ii. 451, 454, 456, 478, edit. 1795. About two hundred of the latter were still detained prisoners for the non-payment of tithes.

CHAP. of two objects, which he called liberty of con-
science and freedom of worship, and which, had he
I.
1685. — been successful, would have benefited, not the catholics only, but every class of religionists. By liberty of conscience he understood the removal of religious tests as qualifications for office; by freedom of worship the abolition of those penal and sanguinary inflictions, which had been enacted for the purpose of extinguishing every form of religious service except that of the established church. It is not pretended, that he was led to the attempt by any enlightened views of toleration—though he never hesitated to condemn the persecution of the dissenters—neither was he principally actuated by a vehement zeal for proselytism—a zeal which frequently animates converts to a new religion;—there existed a much more powerful motive than either of these, his own security: for he had persuaded himself that his throne must necessarily rest on a very precarious foundation, as long as the faith which he professed should form a disqualification for holding office in the state, and the worship which he practised should continue to be prohibited under the penalty of death. To Barillon, acquainted with the fears, and jealousies, and prejudices which agitated the public mind, neither of these objects seemed to be of easy attainment. But the more sanguine disposition of James made light of such difficulties: he rested his hopes of success on the known

loyalty of the church of England; and he suffered himself to be deluded by the professions of attachment to the crown, and of passive obedience to the monarch, which formed the burthen of the addresses from the clergy and universities, ignorant, it would appear, of that which every page of history might have taught him, that great bodies of men will never permit themselves to be swayed by abstract principles, when the actual practice of those principles is opposed to their prepossessions and their interests¹⁷.

With respect to foreign nations it was to be expected that the new monarch would adhere to that pacific policy which he had advised in the reign of his late brother. He came, indeed, to the throne at a period of continental tranquillity, but tranquillity of that dubious and ill-defined description which is usually the precursor of a storm. Though the conflicting claims, which had grown out of the peace of Nimeguen, had been suspended by a truce for eighteen years, concluded at Ratisbon in the preceding month of August, yet the jealousies and heartburnings kindled by those claims had never ceased to exist. Spain and Holland sought by union among them-

CHAP.
I.
1685.

His intrigue
with
Louis for
money.

¹⁷ See Fox, App. 19, 33, 45, 69, 104, 106, 107. Barillon, 22 Feb.; 12 Mars; 28 Avril. With respect to the contested passage in Barillon's letter of July 16, which in Dalrymple is printed "*tant qu'elle ne sera pleinment établie*," (174), and in Fox "*plus pleinment*," (107), I observe that the reading in Dalrymple is that of the original.

CHAP. selves, and by new confederacies with other states,
I. to form a counterpoise against the enormous
1685. power of France, and men looked forward with
fear to the approaching death of the old king of
Spain, as the signal of a new and more sanguinary contest for the succession to his extensive dominions. Under these circumstances Louis deemed it prudent to secure the good-will of the new king of England. He had been negligent in the discharge of his pecuniary obligations to Charles : but the moment he heard of the decease of that monarch, he despatched the sum of 500,000 livres to his ambassador, to be placed at the disposal of James. This act of timely benevolence was gratefully acknowledged by that prince : but it did not satisfy his expectations or his wishes ; and his expression of thanks was followed by a demand of the arrears due to his predecessor, and of a similar subsidy for himself during the three following years. Louis was, or affected to be, surprised : he asked no favour from his English brother, and was unable to understand why he should be called upon to furnish money without any prospect of an equivalent in return. Barillon, however, was not discouraged, and the earnestness and adroitness with which that ambassador continued to urge the claim of James, while it does honour to his abilities, provokes a suspicion, or rather conviction, that his services had been purchased by the promise of an adequate remuneration. He employed every ar-

gument and every artifice which his ingenuity could suggest. Some reasons he put in the mouth of the king, some he assigned to the English ministers, others he suggested as proceeding from his own attachment to the interests of his sovereign. He exaggerated the wants of James, and the dangers which threatened him, and painted in colours the most likely to attract notice, his designs in support of the catholic faith, and his devotion to the French monarch; he appealed to the pride, the pity, the piety of Louis; remonstrated against his parsimony; persevered in defiance of his displeasure; and even ventured to disobey his commands, till, through dint of importunity, he procured by successive remittances money to the amount of 2,000,000 of livres. Yet out of this sum he was not permitted to pay to James more than the arrears of the pension due to the late king. It was in vain that the ambassador continued to reason and solicit. Louis was inexorable. He reprimanded Barillon for his officiousness; and gave him no other power over the money than to advance a certain portion of it to James, if circumstances should compel that monarch to dissolve the parliament, and defend himself by arms against his rebellious subjects¹⁸.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

¹⁸ See most of the letters of Barillon published in the appendix to Fox, and particularly those of April 16, May 17, July 16, and those of Louis of July 26, and December 6. From the last of

CHAP.

I.
1685.

And the
displea-
sure of
that
prince.

In fact Louis not only distrusted the ambassador, he became jealous of the real intentions of the English king, to whose professions of attachment he paid little attention as long as those professions were not confirmed by his conduct. James had, indeed, declared that he did not consider himself bound by the treaty between Spain and his brother, and on that account had evaded the applications of the Spanish ambassador by referring him to the ministers. But he was actually in negotiation with the States-General for a renewal of all preceding treaties between the two powers, and had willingly listened to the solicitations of the prince of Orange, who now sought a reconciliation with his uncle. In defiance of the arguments and suggestions of Louis, James accepted his apology for his past conduct, his promise to break off all communication with Monmouth, and his engagement to dismiss from the British regiments in the pay of the States certain officers, whose loyalty the king had reason to question. This reconciliation confirmed Louis in his resolution to keep his treasure safe in the hands of the ambassador. There it might act as

these it appears that Barillon had advanced to James 100,000 livres without direction from the king. He, however, alleged in his defence, that his hands were not tied at the time: and that he deemed it for the interest of France to yield in so small a matter to the demands of the English ministers. Lettre du 8 Nov.

a lure to draw the English king to his interest: CHAP.
 were it once out of his possession he knew not I.
 but that it might be employed against himself¹⁹. 1685.

In Scotland, during the last years of the reign of Charles, religious persecution had assumed a new feature. The theological errors of the Cameronians were merged in their political offences: Prosecution of Scottish covenanters.
 formerly, they had been treated as obdurate and incorrigible sectarists; now, they were regarded in the light of men professing and practising assassination and rebellion. For the first of these charges some ground had been afforded by their express or tacit approbation of the murder of archbishop Sharp: and the second was fully proved by their renunciation of the king's right and authority in the declaration of Sanquhar. The lords of the council, though they must have been aware that the crimes which they punished, had been provoked by their own unjustifiable severity, deemed themselves bound, as depositories of the royal authority, perhaps also by the danger to which they were exposed, to suppress or extirpate this indomitable sect; and for that purpose they had recourse to the usual inflictions of fines, and imprisonment, and torture, and death. Many of their victims gladly exchanged the horrors of a close and loathsome confinement for the service of the planters in Barbadoes; some suffered on

¹⁹ Fox, App. 117—121.

CHAP. the gallows by the hand of the executioner, and
 I.
 1685. others were shot by order of a military commis-

sion. The writers of the party have drawn a veil over the weakness of those who concealed or abjured their principles; while they have ostentatiously recorded the names of the principal confessors and martyrs, of those whose constancy refused the offer of liberty when it was to be purchased by renouncing the declaration, or who preferred to forfeit their lives rather than pollute their consciences by uttering the words "God bless the king." At first the accession of James offered the prospect of some alleviation to the miseries of these infatuated people. At his proclamation, indeed, they were admonished, in opposition to their favourite doctrine, that "he was the only righteous king and sovereign over all persons and in all causes, as holding his imperial crown from God alone;" but this was followed by an amnesty to all persons who would consent to take the test, with the exception of the itinerant preachers, of their protectors among the higher classes, and of the murderers of archbishop Sharp, and of the minister of Cairnsphairn. If many accepted, yet many refused this benefit; and the rumour of an approaching invasion by the fugitive marquess of Argyle, added to the severity of the council. The prosecutions were continued in the capital: and Graham of Claverhouse displayed his zeal for loyalty and episco-

pace by hunting down the conventiclers in the fields, and by putting the most obstinate or most obnoxious of his prisoners to death ²⁰.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

James had summoned the Scottish parliament to meet on an early day. He expected much from the attachment of those friends, whom he had secured during his former residence in Edinburgh, and from the hopes of others, who knew that the royal favour was the shortest road to wealth and authority; and he entertained the expectation that the example of the Scots, would prove a useful stimulus to the more doubtful obsequiousness of the English parliament. This object was honestly avowed in his public letter: and the avowal, being taken as a compliment by the estates, provoked from their gratitude a declaration of abhorrence of "all principles and positions contrary or derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, and absolute power and authority." He asked for the revenue which had been enjoyed by his brother: they annexed the excise to the crown of Scotland for ever, and made him "a dutiful offer" of 260,000*l.* yearly, during his life: he called on them to support the established church (that church, be it remembered, was not presbyterian but episcopalian); and they passed a most barbarous act, not only ratifying all former statutes for the security and liberty of the true church of God, but also imposing the penalty of

Parliament in
Scotland.

²⁰ Wodrow, ii. 397—507.

CHAP. death on the preachers at the home, and both
 I. preachers and hearers at the field conventicles²¹,
 1685. — and compelling the inhabitants of any parish, where
 a minister should be murdered, to provide for the
 support of his family according to the discretion
 of the privy council: he had exhorted them to put
 down rebels and assassins; and they enacted that
 all persons should take the test under the penalty
 of an arbitrary fine; made it treason to give or
 take the two covenants, and to own, or refuse to
 disown, the apologetic declaration; declared that
 in the processes then depending before the justi-
 ciary, in cases of treason, or conventicles, or
 church irregularities, every person refusing to
 give an answer should be punished as if he were
 guilty of the crime, respecting which he was in-
 terrogated; and lastly they passed an act of
 security and indemnity in favour of the privy
 council, the secret committee, the judges, the mili-
 tary officers, and all commissioners hitherto em-
 ployed in the prosecution of those who are deno-
 minated rebels and assassins. There can be no
 doubt that in these enactments there was much to
 reprehend, much that trenched on the rights of
 the subject, that opened a way to barbarous pu-
 nishments, and gave encouragement to oppression
 on the part of the council: in apology it may be
 observed that they took place at a time when
 either a hostile armament was at sea, or a civil

²¹ Scot. Stat. 1685. c. viii.

war was actually raging in the interior of the kingdom²². CHAP. I.
1685.

In England the coronation of the king and queen according to the protestant ritual, gave satisfaction to the friends of the church²³, and the tranquillity with which the elections of members of parliament were conducted, was considered a favourable omen to the new monarch²⁴. As

Parliament in England.

²² Scot. Stat. 1685. Gazette, 2032.

²³ James informed Barillon that he considered this ceremony requisite for the stability of his throne: it might appear strange that he, a catholic, should receive a religious rite from protestant bishops, but there was a precedent furnished by Sigismund III., king of Poland, who, on his accession to the throne of Sweden, was crowned by the archbishop of Upsal, a Lutheran prelate. He had consulted the pope and the most eminent theologians. Barillon, 8, 19, 22 Mars; 19 Avril.

²⁴ Here perhaps I ought to notice two remarkable trials. In Hilary term, before the death of Charles, Titus Oates had pleaded not guilty to two indictments for perjury: he had sworn that he was present on the 24th of April, 1678, at a consult of the jesuits in London to kill the king, and that he had been present at the commission of treasonable acts by Ireland the jesuit in London between the 8th and 12th of August, and on the 2d of September the same year. At the trials, which took place on the 8th and 9th of May 1685, it was proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that Oates was at St. Omer on the 24th of April, and that Ireland left London for the country on the 2d of August, and remained there till the 14th of September. He was convicted on both indictments, and the court in passing judgment lamented that he could not be made to suffer death in return for the innocent blood which he had shed by his perjuries. He was condemned to pay a fine of 1,000 marks on each indictment, to be stript of his canonical habit, to be twice publicly whipped, and to stand every year of his life five times in the pillory. After the revolution he brought writs of error against these judgments in the house of lords: but the house refused to reverse them. The king, however, at their

CHAP. soon as the necessary forms had been complied
 I. with, he addressed the two houses in a short
 1685. speech which he read leisurely and distinctly from
 ——— the throne. He had made, he said, a declaration
 King's to the privy council on the day of his accession ;
 speech. he now repeated it in parliament, and in the very
 May 22. same words, to show that it was not a hasty promise suddenly called forth by the excitement of the moment, but a fixed purpose, the result of long and mature deliberation. He then stated his expectation, that they would settle on him for life the revenue which had been enjoyed by his brother. Their own judgment would satisfy them that in this he asked for nothing which was not required for the benefit of trade, the support of the navy, the exigencies of the crown, and the well being of government, which ought to stand on a sure and stable foundation. To some, perhaps, it might appear more politic to dole out the revenue to him in successive portions, and thus place him under the necessity of calling frequent parliaments. But such persons knew him not : the best way to engage him to meet them often, would be always to use him well. In conclusion he informed them that a body of rebels had lately landed in Scotland under the conduct of Argyle, who had published two declarations charging him

request, pardoned him the remainder of the punishment, and moreover allowed him a pension of 5*l.* per week in lieu of his pensions granted by Charles II. amounting to 864*l.* per annum. See State Trials, x. 1079—1330.

with usurpation and tyranny. It would be his care that the invaders should meet with their reward, it would be theirs to support his government, and establish his revenue ²⁵.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

By later writers this speech has been subjected to a most rigorous ordeal. It has been considered as an open avowal of the king's contempt for the laws, as a threat that he was prepared to assume arbitrary power, and as a bold attempt to intimidate and silence the advocates of a free constitution. By those who were present, it was heard and understood with very different feelings. They did not conceal their satisfaction. At the close of each period their shouts rent the air; and subsequently both houses waited in a body on the king to express their loyalty and gratitude ²⁶.

They began by assuring him of their support against the treasonable projects of Argyle, and by settling the revenue in the manner which he had wished. As he made no claim in virtue of the prerogative, so they abstained from any complaint of his having levied the duties without authority. He told them that the despatch with which they passed the bill was as grateful to him as the bill itself; but in addition circumstances required an immediate aid to provide for the equipment of the navy, the discharge of his brother's debts, and the extraordinary expenses to which he was driven by the rebellion. To James the charge of extrava-

Grant of
the reve-
nue.

²⁵ L. Journ. xiv. 9.

²⁶ Evelyn, iii. 159.

CHAP. gance had never been objected: he was rather
 I. parsimonious in his habits, and had already
 1685. reformed the extravagance and manners of the
 court. His wishes were gratified even beyond his
 demand; and additional duties were laid on wines,
 vinegar, tobacco, and sugar for eight, and on
 foreign linens for five years²⁷.

Debates
 on new
 charters.

In both houses there must have been many
 who in the preceding parliaments had distin-
 guished themselves by their opposition to govern-
 ment, and had voted for the exclusion of James
 from the throne. But these, whatever they
 might think, had the prudence to conceal their sen-
 timents. The times were altered; the principles
 of the Whigs had grown unfashionable; and to
 come forward in their defence was doubly danger-
 ous at a time when the standard of rebellion was
 already unfurled in Scotland, and a hostile expedi-
 tion under the duke of Monmouth was known
 to be at sea, steering for the shores of England.
 Still there were not wanting questions of consider-
 able interest, under the cover of which it was
 possible to carry on a masked opposition to the
 measures of government. Several of the new

²⁷ L. Journ. xiv. 21, 44, 65. "They gave upon the tobacco
 and sugars threepence, when sr. Dudley North, the commissioner
 of the customes and manager for the king, asked but three half-
 pence." Lonsdale, 64. An attempt was made to prove at the
 bar that the new duty would be prejudicial to the plantations,
 "but the king's promise that, if it was found inconvenient to the
 trade, he would remitt the imposition, was of so much prevalence
 that the matter was allowed no further debate." Id. 4, 5.

charters had restricted the right of voting for members of parliament to certain bodies in the interest of the crown ; and it was reported that previous to the recent elections the earl of Bath had repaired to Cornwall with thirteen charters of that description in his possession. By this innovation the influence of the Seymours had been greatly weakened in that county ; and Mr. Seymour took an early opportunity, the very first debate on the revenue, to call the attention of the house to that grievance. He maintained that the new charters were illegal and invalid ; that the right of election still resided in those to whom it belonged by ancient usage ; and that no person returned in opposition to that right could be a lawful member of the lower house. There never was, he observed, a time in which it could be more necessary to watch over the purity of the representation. The laws, the religion of the country were at stake. There existed an intention of abolishing the test, the great bulwark of protestantism, and the writ of habeas corpus, the chief safeguard against arbitrary power. If the crown could control the elections, the liberties of the nation were forfeited for ever. Hence it was his opinion that their first measure should be an inquiry into the returns, that they might determine whether the house, as it was then constituted, could be said fairly and legally to represent the nation. He was heard with surprise, perhaps with secret approbation ; but of those who fol-

CHAP. I.
1685.
—
May 27. lowed in the debate, not one made the remotest allusion to his speech. In the course of the week, however, the subject was again brought forward by sir John Lowther, subsequently viscount Lonsdale, who expressed a hope that after the proof of devotion which the house had given by voting the revenue, the motion which he was about to make would not offend the king, especially as the grievance, the subject of complaint, had not risen in his, but had grown up in his brother's, reign. The compulsory substitution of new for ancient charters amounted in his opinion to a disseizing of the subject of his freehold without a trial; it shook the very foundation of parliament by transferring the choice of representatives to other electors, and was pregnant with such important consequences, as to demand the most serious attention of the house. He concluded by moving for a committee to consider the proper method of applying to the king for a remedy, and received the support of several among the more influential members. But it was then a late hour, and the debate was adjourned for two days, when the king, sending for the house, asked for an additional aid. By this interruption Lowther's motion was made to give way to another question of more immediate urgency, and for reasons of which we are ignorant was never afterwards resumed ²⁸.

²⁸ See Journ. May 27, 29. Lonsdale, 5—8. Barillon in Fox, App. 90, 95. Evelyn, iii. 160. Burnet, iii. 38.

On the same day was debated another question of still higher interest, and even more calculated to awaken the angry passions of the members.

Under pretence of danger to the church, it had been proposed in the committee for religion to petition the king that all the penal laws against dissenters should be put in immediate execution.

Though James had many friends in the committee, the motion met with no opposition. He sent for them the same evening, complained of their timidity, and ordered all the dependents on the court to oppose the resolution. The following morning it was submitted to the house, where, to the surprise of those with whom it originated, it was condemned as an insult to the sovereign, whose word it seemed to call in question, as an attempt to impose on the house, which could not expect the king to punish men for professing the same faith with himself, and as a secret manœuvre to excite, in aid of the rebels, dissension between the sovereign and his people. The friends of the resolution defended it but faintly: it was rejected without a division, and in its place was substituted a declaration that the house relied with perfect security on the solemn promise of the king to defend and support the established church, which was dearer to them than their lives²⁹.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

Attempt
to enforce
the penal
laws.
May 27.

On these questions the opponents of the court acted openly and fairly: but a more astucious

And to ex-
clude the
ministers.

²⁹ C. Journ. May 26, 27. Reresby, 198. Fox, App. 95.

CHAP. leader devised a new and extraordinary plan of
 I.
 1685. annoyance. Under the mask of attachment to the
 ——— royal person, he moved that all who had formerly
 voted for the exclusion of James from the throne,
 should during his reign be excluded themselves from
 places of trust and emolument. It was expected
 that the majority of the house would eagerly
 snatch at the opportunity of displaying their
 loyalty, that the dissensions of a former period
 would be revived, and that the present favourites,
 Sunderland and Godolphin, who had voted with
 the exclusionists, would be put on their defence.
 But these ministers had received notice of the
 design; they admonished their partisans to be
 upon the watch; and the moment the proposal
 was brought forward, it met with so fierce and
 general an opposition, that its authors suffered it
 to fall to the ground³⁰.

Votes
 against
 Mon-
 mouth.

The landing of the duke of Monmouth on the
 coast of Dorsetshire appeared to give a new
 stimulus to the loyalty of the parliament.
 June 15. Monmouth was immediately attainted, and a price
 June 17. set upon his head³¹; an additional supply of

³⁰ Fox, App. 97.

³¹ Burnet says that this bill was passed "on the general report and belief" of Monmouth's having landed; which has given birth to an uninteresting dispute respecting Burnet's veracity between Rose and Heywood. Sir J. Lowther, indeed, seems to confirm Burnet, in as much as he says, that it was passed without examining witnesses; but both are contradicted by the testimony of the journals, that the two messengers were examined by the council upon oath, and bore witness to the truth of the matter at the bar of the house. C. Journ. June 13.

400,000*l.* was granted to the king: and a bill for CHAP. the greater security of the royal person was pre-
 I.
 1685.
 pared. Such bills, arising out of particular cir-
 June 19.
 cumstances, and making temporary additions to the original statute of treasons, had been passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II., but had always been attended with some sacrifice of rights on the part of the subject. The present bill seems to have had three objects; to meet the difficulty urged at their trials by Russell and Sydney, and for that purpose to make words and writings overt acts of treason; to intimidate the partisans of Monmouth by enacting penalties against all who should pronounce him the legitimate son of Charles II. or the heir to the crown; and to check the licentiousness of the press by disabling all persons from holding office in church or state, who should be convicted of having maliciously and advisedly endeavoured to excite by word or writing hatred or dislike of his majesty or of the government established by law³². Ser- June 26.
 jeant Maynard forcibly objected to the policy of converting words into treason: it would lead to the punishment of innocence and the commission of perjury: facts must be seen, words might be misunderstood; and the detection of perjury respecting facts was comparatively easy, respecting words difficult and often impossible. Maynard

³² This act appears to have been the model after which was framed the act of 36 Geo. 3. c. 7. Serjeant Heywood has printed them in parallel columns, p. 238.

- CHAP. was overruled: but in consequence of his objections two provisoes were added, one, that no writing or teaching in defence of the doctrine or discipline of the established church against popery or other dissenting opinions should be considered an offence within the meaning of the act; the other, that the information should be laid within forty-eight hours after the words spoken, or the fact discovered, that the prosecution should begin within six months after the offence, and that the indictment should follow within the three subsequent months. In this state the bill passed the commons: but the proceedings of Monmouth began to claim the whole attention of government; James requested the members to repair to their homes, and watch over the public tranquillity, and the two houses separated by adjournment, that the bills already in progress might not be lost by a prorogation³³.
- Proceed- The house of lords, where James in imitation
ings in the
house of
lords.
May 19. of his deceased brother was constantly in attendance, displayed its loyalty by joining with eagerness in the different votes and bills transmitted from the commons. On the first day of the sessions the earls of Powis, Danby, and Tyrone, with the lords Arundel and Belasyse, made their

³³ Mr. Fox printed the bill in his appendix, 152. See also C. Journ. June 19, 26, 27, 29. Lonsdale, 8, 9. Burnet, iii. 39. Rose, 157. Heywood, 218. Barillon (Fox, 111) says that the proviso respecting preachers was highly displeasing to the king and queen, and that in his (Barillon's) opinion its introduction accelerated the prorogation of parliament.

personal appearance at the bar, and obtained a final discharge. In addition the house rescinded the former order stating that impeachments by the house of commons did not abate by the prorogation or dissolution of parliament³⁴. This was followed by a bill to reverse the attainder of lord viscount Stafford, on the ground that no doubt could any longer exist of his innocence, or of the perjury of Titus Oates. It passed in a very full house, and may be considered as a vindication of his memory by the same persons who had previously pronounced his condemnation. In the commons it was read twice, and committed: but on the day appointed for its consideration, all the committees were adjourned on account of the landing of Monmouth, and no mention was made of it afterwards, owing perhaps to the more important business which occupied the short remainder of the session, perhaps to the reluctance of the house to admit, what the preamble assumed, that the popish plot was wholly an imposture³⁵.

C H A P.

I.
1685.

May 22.

June 6.

June 12.

³⁴ The order then rescinded has since been confirmed in the case of Mr. Hastings. We have now decisions of the house of lords that impeachments do abate, and others that they do not abate, in consequence of a dissolution. The latter is at present the law of parliament. The contrary, however, has been the opinion of very eminent lawyers, such as the lord chancellor Nottingham and lord Hale, formerly, and of lord Thurlow and lord Kenyon in the late case of Mr. Hastings; and who can say that it may not at some subsequent period, when party politics run high, be again adopted?

³⁵ L. Journ. xiv. 17, 22, 28. C. Journ. June 4, 5, 6, 12. This act of justice has lately been accomplished by the reversal of the

CHAP. From the proceedings in parliament we may
 I.
 1685. now revert to those of the two hostile expeditions

Consultation of the
 exiles in
 Holland.

under Monmouth and Argyle. During the latter years of Charles many individuals, who had been marked out for prosecution in England and Scotland, found a secure asylum in the united provinces; and of these, the Scottish exiles, as soon as the accession of James was known, assembled in consultation in the town of Rotterdam. The character of their leaders has been faithfully drawn by sir Patrick Hume, one of the number. They were men who looked on themselves as martyrs in the cause of religion and liberty, who gave to the pretended revelations of Titus Oates the credence due to the best authenticated testimony, who never suffered a doubt to rise in their minds of the existence of a popish conspiracy to eradicate the profession of protestantism, and establish as a necessary consequence the sway of arbitrary power both in England and Scotland. The progress of that conspiracy had, indeed, been checked by the executions in 1678 and the subsequent years; but the mystery of iniquity was still working in darkness; it had acquired new facilities of carrying on its design; it was fostered by the indolence or

attainder. During the debates on the continuance of the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, "all parties, however differing in other points, appear to have agreed that Oates's plot was an imposture, and that, to use the language attributed to an eminent law lord in his speech on the question, lord Stafford's execution was a legal murder." Hargrave, *Opinion and Argument*, p. 147.

connivance of the king, and by the apathy of the people, "intoxicated by ease from war and taxes, and a free course of traffick and trade." The death of Charles was taken by them as a confirmation of those notions. He had most certainly been poisoned by the papists; the same faction had raised his brother James to the throne; and, should that prince have leisure to consolidate his power by raising a military force, religion and liberty would inevitably be banished from the two kingdoms, and not only from them but from every country in Europe, which dared to profess the reformed creed. From such premises they drew the conclusion that no time was to be lost; that an immediate opportunity should be offered to the people of England and Scotland of rallying round the standard of protestantism and freedom, and that the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Argyle, as their natural leaders, should be invited to aid them with their counsel and concurrence. Messengers with these resolutions were instantly despatched to the two chieftains³⁶.

1. Monmouth, at the death of his father, was still at the Hague, expecting to be recalled to England, and living in the strictest intimacy with the prince and princess of Orange; who, to accommodate themselves to his habits, consented to enliven the gloom and solitude of their court with

Who send
for Mon-
mouth.

³⁶ See the narrative of sir Patrick Hume, published by Mr. Rose, 5—9.

CHAP. a round of unusual amusements³⁷; and, as if
 I.
 1685. they were assured of the secret approbation of
 — Charles, set at defiance the resentment of James
 and the remonstrances of the ambassador. But
 on the accession of the new king the prospect
 was changed. William saw the necessity of pro-
 pitiating his father-in-law, and Monmouth, after
 several secret conferences with the favourite
 Bentinck, withdrew privately to Brussels, where
 he sought to persuade himself, in the company
 of his mistress, Henrietta Wentworth, that the
 quiet enjoyment of a retired life was preferable
 to the turmoils and disappointments of ambition.
 But the arrival of the messenger from the exiles
 dissipated the delusion, and revived his former
 hopes and projects. He repaired to them at
 Rotterdam, approved of their plans, offered to
 risk his life in the common cause, and expressed
 his readiness either to accompany the English to
 England, or to serve as a volunteer under Argyle
 in the expedition to Scotland³⁸.

And for
 Argyle.

2. Argyle manifested less pliancy of disposi-

³⁷ D'Avaux, iv. 105, 106, 109, 113, 120. The most singular thing was, that the prince, to please Monmouth, compelled the princess to learn to skate on the ice. "C'étoit une chose fort extraordinaire de voir la princesse d'Orange, avec des jupes fort courtes, et à demi retroussées, et des patins de fer à ses piés, apprendre à glisser tantôt sur un pié et tantôt sur un autre." 121.

³⁸ Id. iv. 136. Sir P. Hume, 9, 15. Wellwood, App. 323. Monmouth's letter in Wellwood is written to Spence, the secretary of the exiles, and appears from its contents to be the answer to their invitation.

tion. After his escape to Holland, he had withdrawn from public notice to Leeuwarden, where he found the means of maintaining an active correspondence with his friends in Scotland, and of making secret preparations to revenge himself at some propitious moment on his enemies in both kingdoms. His English friends had already supplied him with a considerable sum of money, said to be the donation of a rich widow in Holland, and the intelligence of the king's death summoned him to Amsterdam, where he purchased a ship, and arms, and ammunition. Thence he followed the messenger to Rotterdam, not, as he had persuaded himself, to consult, but to command. He explained his preparations to the exiles, bade them commit themselves to his guidance, and proposed to sail without delay to Scotland. He was, however, embarrassed by the presence of Monmouth, of whose pretensions he betrayed considerable jealousy. But the two chieftains met in private, adjusted their respective claims, and agreed that there should be two expeditions, one consisting of English adventurers under Monmouth to land in England, the other of Scots under Argyle to try their fortune in Scotland³⁹.

3. There remained, however, a third party, whose concurrence was necessary, the exiles themselves. They were generally men of republic-
Their plans arranged.

³⁹ Sir P. Hume, 9—12, 15—18.

CHAP. I. 1685. lican principles, who felt no particular reverence for the superiority of hereditary rank, nor cared to expose themselves to danger for the mere purpose of setting up one monarch in the place of another. Before they would move, they drew from Monmouth, though he still gave himself out for the legitimate son of his father, a solemn promise not to take the title of king, unless it were advised by his associates as requisite for their common success: and, even in that case to resign it afterwards, and to content himself with such rank, as the nation should judge an adequate reward for his services⁴⁰. Argyle was more obstinate. He had already, and without their aid, formed a plan of invasion: his birth and exertions gave him, in his opinion, a title to their obedience; and the prediction of an astrologer had dazzled his imagination with indistinct but flattering visions of future greatness. Conferences, disputes, and explanations followed: at last necessity compelled him to submit; and he

April 7.

⁴⁰ Id. 9, 12—14. The English exiles acted in this matter in unison with the Scottish. "He (Monmouth) took deep asseverations in the presence of God, that he intended and would do as he had spoken, and repeated what before is rehearsed, and said he would give the like assurance to the English, as he did very solemnly, whereby his greatest opposers, jealous of him as above-said (who gave me a full account of the matter, as likewise he himself did afterwards at Amsterdam), were cordially joined to him, and at peace with him." Id. 14. If any credit be due to sir Patrick Hume, Monmouth, instead of joining in the expedition through importunity and against his own judgment, as is sometimes said, promoted it with all his might.

seated himself at the board as one of twelve CHAP. counsellors with sir John Cochrane for their I. 1685. præses or chairman. They constituted themselves a supreme council for conducting the enterprise, with authority to add to their number, after their arrival in Scotland; appointing the earl of Argyle general of the army, "with as full power as was usually given to generals by the free states in Europe;" and committed to one of their number the charge of drawing up a declaration of war against James, duke of York ⁴¹.

In the mean time Monmouth having received strong assurances of support from his adherents in England, pawned his jewels to make the necessary preparations, and Argyle added two more ships to that which he had previously purchased. Each party composed a manifesto adapted to the particular circumstances of the respective countries, which was communicated to the other, and subsequently amended, till it obtained the approbation of both. To preserve the union between them, two Englishmen, Ayloff the lawyer, and Rumbold the maltster, both of Rye-house notoriety, were attached to the Scottish, and two Scots, Fletcher of Saltoun, and Ferguson the minister, to the English expedition. They separated: Monmouth promised April 28. to follow within six days, and the Scots, in

Argyle
sails from
Holland.

⁴¹ Id. 14—35. Crookshank, ii. 260.

- CHAP. number about three hundred men, proceeded to
 I. their ships in the Texel. It was in vain that the
 1685. English envoy demanded their arrestation on the
 ——— faith of treaties: through the connivance of the
 May 2. Dutch authorities they were permitted to pass the
 Ulie without molestation ⁴².
- Lands in Scotland.
 May 6. On the fourth day the adventurers with a fair
 wind reached Cairston in the Orkneys, where
 Spence the earl's secretary, and Blackadder the
 surgeon, were made prisoners by the natives ⁴³;
 an unfortunate occurrence, as it revealed to the
 council in Edinburgh the strength and the des-
 tination of the expedition, and taught them to
 April 28. prepare for the reception of the invaders. A
 proclamation had already ordered the kingdom to
 May 7. be put in a posture of defence, and hostages for
 their fidelity had been received from the vassals
 May 14. of Argyle; now bodies of militia and regulars
 were despatched into the western shires; several

⁴² Id. 36, 37. They went on board on the 28th of April. One of their ships had already passed the Ulie, but the other two were not ready to sail before the 2d of May. On the 28th Skelton had laid an information before the magistrates, but could obtain no answer before the 30th, when a yacht sailed from Amsterdam with orders to stop the two ships: but the captain kept at a distance, and reported that they were already under sail, and that one of them had fired on him. Compare D'Avaux, v. 4, with sir P. Hume, 38, 39.

⁴³ For what purpose these gentlemen went on shore is not known. It appears that they had the consent of Argyle; and that the council proposed to land and liberate them by force, but to that the earl objected, and seized the four hostages. Sir P. Hume, 41.

frigates sailed for the isles, and all suspected persons were either imprisoned, or compelled to give security for their loyal behaviour. In the mean time Argyle, taking with him four of the natives as hostages for the lives of the captives, continued his voyage from the Orkneys, and landing in Lorn and afterwards in Cantire, published in both places the declaration, which he brought with him from Holland. It stated at great length, and in most inflammatory language, all the grievances real or imaginary of the reign of Charles II., attributed them to "a conspiracy between popery and tyranny, which had been evidently disclosed by the cutting off of the late king, and the ascending of the duke of York to the throne," pronounced that prince incapable of giving the security indispensibly required of him before his entry on the government, and declared that their object was the restoration of the true protestant religion, "the perpetual exclusion of popery, of its most bitter root and offspring prelacy, and of its new and wicked head the supremacy," and the replacing of all men in their just rights and liberties; that they would never enter into capitulation or treaty with the said duke of York, and would indemnify all persons, even their former enemies, who should assist them against a persecuting tyrant, and an apostate party. At Tarbet he published a second declaration, displaying his own wrongs, his former patience under oppression, and the reason of his

CHAP.

I.
1685.

May 7.

May 11.

May 27.

CHAP. present appearance in arms, and sent messengers
 I.
 1685. with the fiery cross in all directions to summon
 ——— his former vassals to the aid of their natural
 lord ⁴⁴.

Marches
 towards
 Glasgow.

It would exhaust the patience of the reader to detail the subsequent particulars of this ill-concerted and ill-fated expedition. Few were found to rally round the boasted standard of religion and liberty: the Cameronians, though they renewed their renunciation of the government of James, could not in conscience support a cause owned by men of a different interest from their own: and each day was marked by new disappointments, and new causes of dissension between the earl and his associates. *He* relied on the attachment of his clansmen in the highlands; the council on the deep resentment and more obstinate character of the lowlanders; he sought to clear his own country of the enemy, they demanded to be led into the western counties, which had so long been the theatre of religious persecution. The controversy was determined by the appearance of a hostile fleet on the coast; and Argyle, having piloted his vessels through the narrows, and left his stores with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men in the castle of Ellengreg, departed with the rest of his force, intending to fight his way to the city of Glasgow.

June 10.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 40—46. Dalrymple, 127. Wodrow, ii. 531, 532. App. 152, 155. State Trials, xi. 1025, note.

At high water the king's ships under sir Thomas CHAP.
Hamilton passed in safety between the rocks ; 1.
1685.
the garrison fled before a single gun had been _____
fired ; and the vessels of the invaders, the four June 15.
hostages, five thousand stand of arms, three
hundred barrels of powder, and the earl's
standard with the inscription " against popery,
prelacy, and Erastianism," fell into the hands of
the royalists⁴⁵.

The next day Argyle with his associates passed Is made
prisoner.
the Leven : but wherever he directed his march, June 16.
he found himself opposed or followed by strong
bodies of regulars and militia. Driven from the
direct road, he attempted to thread his way
among the hills and morasses ; but his followers
deserted him ; his force dwindled from two
thousand to five hundred men ; and during the
darkness of the night, Argyle himself, either by
his own counsel or the suggestion of his friends,
deemed it prudent to withdraw. June 17. Accompanied
by Fullarton, he crossed the Clyde, but was over-
taken and made prisoner at the water of the ford
of Inchanan. Of the men, whom he had aban-
doned, about one hundred, the volunteers from
Holland, resumed their march, passed the Clyde
in boats, and maintained a sharp skirmish with
the royalists at Luton-bridge. Here they heard
of the capture of their leader, and, despairing of

⁴⁵ Ibid. 46—56. Gazette, No. 2041. Barillon, 2 Juillet.

CHAP. success, fled during the night in various direc-
 I. tions. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition ⁴⁶.
 1685.

Thirty-five years before (so it was reported)
 June 19. Argyle from a private window in Edinburgh had
 And suf- gratified his revenge with the sight of the indig-
 fers death. nities heaped on the unfortunate marquess of
 Montrose. It was now his doom to meet with a
 June 20. similar reception. Bareheaded, with his hands
 tied behind him, and preceded by the hangman,
 he was made to pass under the same gate, and
 through the same streets, to the castle. The
 judgment pronounced on him in 1681 was still in
 force, and the council waited only for the royal
 permission to put it in execution. His conduct as
 an insurrectionary leader had been marked by
 want of judgment and decision: but as a prisoner
 under a capital sentence, he displayed a serenity
 and firmness of mind, which extorted the praise
 of his bitterest enemies. Of the lawfulness of
 his late attempt he cherished a firm conviction: it
 was justified by the recollection of the wrongs
 which he had suffered, and by the prospect of the
 calamities which to his apprehension the reign of
 James would inflict on the three kingdoms; and
 the cause, in which he was about to lay down
 his life, was, he could not doubt it, the cause of

⁴⁶ Ibid. 56—67. Wodrow, ii. 533—537. Gazette, 2045.
 Barillon, 5 Juillet. Wodrow pretends that Argyle was deserted
 by his men: sir P. Hume, who gives a very circumstantial detail,
 assures us that he deserted them.

his country. Nerved by these considerations, he mounted the scaffold with the high feelings of a martyr, forgave all his enemies, and uttered with his last breath an indignant testimony against “popery and prelacy and all superstition whatsoever ⁴⁷.”

CHAP.
I.
1685.

Among his fellow captives the principal were his two sons, sir John Cochrane, and Ayloff and Rumbold. His sons were banished; Cochrane by an ingenuous confession to the king obtained his pardon; but Ayloff's obstinacy or fidelity was proof against the offer of life, and, after a fruitless attempt at suicide, he suffered in England the death of a traitor. Rumbold, who had served as a private in the parliamentary army, and as an officer under Cromwell, was brought before the court of justiciary, where he indignantly denied the first part of the charge against him, that he had conspired the death of Charles II. and his brother at the Rye-house farm, but acknowledged the second part, that he had been the associate of Argyle in his late attempt. He received judgment, and was executed the same afternoon ⁴⁸.

Other executions.
June 26.

⁴⁷ Wodrow, ii. 538—545.

⁴⁸ See Burnet, iii. 29. State Trials, xi. 874. Fox, App. 156. Wodrow, ii. 552, 556. From all authorities it is plain that he denied the Rye-house plot before his judges, and, if we may believe the Western Martyrology, he repeated that denial on the scaffold. But the Western Martyrology is not the best of vouchers; and the fact is hardly consistent with the silence of Wodrow and Fountainhall. Indeed the very denial attributed to him shows

CHAP. Monmouth had engaged to follow Argyle in
 I. the course of six days ; yet three weeks elapsed
 1685. before he left Amsterdam, a whole month before

Mon-
mouth
sails from
Holland.
May 24.

he joined the expedition riding at the mouth of the Texel. It consisted of a frigate of thirty-two guns, with four small tenders, of which one was detained by the Dutch authorities, and of eighty exiles, accompanied by an equal number of servants or followers. With this inconsiderable force the unfortunate adventurer undertook to win the crowns of three kingdoms ; but his hopes were buoyed up with the expectation that multitudes would hasten to his standard ; and under this persuasion he carried with him, instead of soldiers, equipments for an army of cavalry and infantry to the amount of five thousand men ⁴⁹.

Lands at
Lyne.

June 11.

The boisterous state of the weather had relaxed the vigilance of the royal cruisers ; and Monmouth seized a favourable moment to set sail, stole unobserved down the Channel, and on the 11th of June appeared in front of the small port of Lyne in Dorsetshire. The moment he landed on the beach he offered on his knees a fervent prayer for the success of the enterprize,

that there was something in the charge. “ He did not deny but that he had heard many propositions at West’s chambers, about killing the two brothers, and upon that he said it could have been easily executed near his house ; upon which some discourse had followed how it might have been managed : but he said it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or so much as resolved on.” Crookshank, ii. 291.

⁴⁹ C. Journ. June 15. Barillon, 23 Juin.

and then, drawing his sword, marched at the head of his followers, into the town. The mayor and principal inhabitants had fled; but the lower classes were summoned round a blue flag planted in the market-place, where they listened to “the declaration of James, duke of Monmouth, and the noblemen, gentlemen, and others in arms for the defence and vindication of the protestant religion, and the laws, rights, and privileges of England.” In this instrument, the tone and acrimony of which betrayed its real author, Ferguson the minister, James is pronounced an usurper, and therefore designated by his former title of duke of York; the whole course of his life is described as “one continued conspiracy against the reformed religion and the rights of the nation;” and to him are attributed the burning of London, the confederacy against the protestant state of Holland, the support of the popish plot, the murder of Godfrey, the subornation of witnesses to swear away the lives of the patriots, the assassination of the earl of Essex, and of those who were privy to that assassination, and the dissolution of several succeeding parliaments, that they might not bring him to justice, and make him suffer the punishment due to these crimes. From his offences during the life of the late king, the declaration passes to those which he committed, “after he had snatched the crown from the head of his brother.” He had authorized the practice of idolatry, he had invaded the property of every

CHAP.

I.
1685.Publishes
his declaration.

CHAP. Englishman by levying taxes without authority,
I.
1685. he had polluted the fountains of justice by placing
— on the bench men who were a scandal to the bar,
he had packed juries, had granted illegal charters,
and had converted the fences against tyranny into
the means of establishing despotism. On all
these accounts the duke of Monmouth and his
associates declare war against him as a murderer,
a traitor, and a tyrant, and engage never to admit
of any accommodation with him, but to continue
the war till they shall have brought him and all
his adherents to condign punishment.

It then proceeds to describe the object of the
invaders. They intend to establish the protestant
religion “beyond all probability of its being sup-
planted,” to abolish all penal laws against pro-
testant dissenters, and all sanguinary laws against
any religionists whatsoever, to procure annual
parliaments, which cannot be dissolved, or pro-
rogued, or adjourned, before petitions have been
answered and grievances redressed, to have up-
right judges, holding their places during their
good behaviour, and subject to the approbation of
parliament, to restore the ancient charters, to
repeal the militia and corporation acts, to place
the choice of sheriffs in the freeholders of the
counties, and to allow no standing army but by
the authority of parliament.

In conclusion it charges the king with having,
in order to expedite the idolatrous and bloody
designs of the papists, to gratify his own bound-

less ambition, and to prevent all inquiry into the murder of the earl of Essex, poisoned his late brother, a brother who loved him so as to endanger his own crown to save him from punishment: wherefore the duke of Monmouth, in revenge of the horrid and barbarous parricide committed upon his father, will pursue the said James duke of York as a mortal and bloody enemy, and will endeavour to have justice executed upon him. Not that Monmouth doth at present insist on his own title—that he leaves to the wisdom, justice, and authority of parliament—but he acts as head and captain-general of the protestant forces of the kingdom, and in that quality he promises to promote the passing into laws of all the improvements previously mentioned, that it may never more be in the power of a single man to subvert the rights and liberties of the people ⁵⁰.

When Monmouth published this declaration, so intemperate in its language, so slanderous in its assertions, he must have been intoxicated with the assurance of success, or have made up his mind to conquer or die. From the king it is evident that after such wanton and bitter provocation he could expect no mercy. Neither was it calculated to make a favourable impression on the public. The falsehood and enormity of many of the

Meets
with little
encouragement.

⁵⁰ See it in Somers, Tracts, iv. Collect. tom. ii. p. 190. State Trials, xi. 1032.

CHAP. charges shocked the feelings of considerate men:

I.
1685.

— to his own claim united against him the friends of the established church and those of hereditary descent; and the notion that he aspired to the crown, a notion which his affected moderation served rather to confirm than discountenance, taught thousands to stand aloof, whom their predilection for a commonwealth would otherwise have collected round his banners. Not a nobleman, not a gentleman of interest or opulence openly ventured to declare in his favour. But the religious and political prejudices of the populace were excited: they crowded to offer their services; arms were distributed, companies formed, and officers appointed; and on the fourth day Monmouth marched from Lyme at the head of four regiments, amounting in all to more than three thousand men.

Loses
Fletcher
and Dare.

Previously, however, two events had happened, calculated to make him think seriously on the want of discipline and subordination among his followers. 1. The two men, on whose immediate services he chiefly relied, were Fletcher of Saltoun in Scotland, and Dare of Taunton in Somersetshire. The intrepidity of Fletcher had been proved in several encounters, the superiority of his military knowledge was universally acknowledged. Dare had once been a goldsmith at Taunton; afterwards, in quality of a broker at Amsterdam, he had conducted the correspondence

between the malcontents in both countries; and now he held the offices of secretary and paymaster, and had proved his influence among his countrymen by inducing forty horsemen to join the army the next day. It happened that Dare made his appearance at their head on a beautiful and spirited charger, better adapted in the opinion of Fletcher for the use of a military officer than of a civilian. The Scot seized and claimed the horse: the secretary resisted, and in the struggle was shot with a pistol through the head. The new levies instantly assembled, and demanded the punishment of the assassin; and Monmouth, to screen him from their vengeance, placed Fletcher under arrest, sent him on board one of his vessels, and ordered the captain to sail to the coast of Spain. This untoward occurrence was a subject of regret and a source of misfortune to the duke; it deprived him both of the only officer to whom he could safely trust the military command, and of a man who possessed the most extensive influence among the lower classes of the natives ⁵¹.

2. A body of four hundred men under the command of lord Grey, was ordered to drive the militia out of the neighbouring town of Bridport. They surprised the bridge at the entrance, and

⁵¹ Wade, in *Miscellaneous State Papers*, ii. 317. Heywood, App. 29. Monmouth's vessels which remained at Lyme were taken by some frigates, with a great number of cuirasses. Barrillon, 5 Juillet.

CHAP. pushed through the long street, till two men fell
 I. from a volley of musketry. Grey with the cavalry
 1685. instantly fled; Venner, who commanded the foot,
 followed their example, and the panic instantly
 spread through the whole force. By the spirited
 conduct of major Wade, who repeatedly turned
 on the pursuers, the retreat was effected with in-
 considerable loss: but the skirmish proved to the
 conviction of the duke that little reliance was to
 be placed on the military prowess of lord Grey,
 or on the steadiness of men, unused to the casual-
 ties of a field of battle ⁵².

Takes the
 title of
 king.

In no part of England had the fanatical and
 anti-monarchical principles, which prevailed un-
 der the commonwealth, taken deeper root than
 in Dorsetshire and Devonshire. If their growth
 had been checked by the restoration, they were
 still kept alive by religious persecution; and it
 was well known that the great body of the inha-
 bitants, a hardy and turbulent race, cherished a
 strong antipathy to the existing government, and
 were ready to rise at the call of any man, who
 should profess to fight the battle of the lord against
 popery and arbitrary power. Hence it was to
 them that the council of six in the last reign had
 looked for their principal support in the event of
 an insurrection, and among them that Monmouth
 had now determined to seek an army of resolute
 and enthusiastic followers. From Lyme he

⁵² Wade, *ibid.* 317—321. Dalrymple, 129.

hastened to Taunton, a rich and populous town, where he was received with loud acclamations, as the saviour of the country. The inhabitants presented him with a stand of colours richly embroidered; twenty young maidens, in their gayest attire, came in procession to offer him a naked sword and a pocket bible, and the duke assured them in return, that his chief object was to defend the truths contained in that sacred book, and to seal them, if it were necessary, with his blood. But this flattering reception revived his ambition, and he began to feel uneasy under the promise which had been extorted from him at Rotterdam, and which he had so recently published in his declaration. It was asked in council whether, considering all the circumstances, it were not expedient and necessary that he should assume the insignia of royalty; the republicans found themselves outvoted by his favourites and flatterers; and the adventurer took on himself by solemn proclamation the title of king James II. Nor did he delay to exercise his new powers. He touched children for the evil, declared the duke of Albemarle, who lay with a body of militia at a short distance, a traitor⁵³, pronounced the two houses of parliament, unless they should disperse within ten days, seditious assemblies, ordered the customs and excise to be levied for his

CHAP.

I.
1685.

June 18.

June 20.

⁵³ See the papers which passed between them in Mr. Ellis's First Series of Original Letters, iii. 340. Also Dalrymple, 131.

CHAP. service, and set a price on the head of the usurper
 I. of the crown, James duke of York ⁵⁴.
 1685.

Prepara-
 tions of
 James.

That prince, though cheered by the votes of parliament, was not without strong grounds of disquietude. He dared not trust the decision of the contest to the militia of the counties, whose fidelity was as doubtful, as their inexperience was certain : of the regular force, which in the whole kingdom did not exceed five thousand men, a great portion was required to awe the metropolis, in which it was supposed that Monmouth had a considerable party, and where two hundred suspected persons were placed under arrest as a measure of precaution ; and in the three Scottish regiments, which were sent to his assistance by the States, it was discovered that many of the officers had been previously seduced from their allegiance by the exiles. Unable for the moment to arrest the progress of his opponent, he gave the command to lord Feversham, with instructions not to hazard a battle without a regular force ; ordered the bodies of militia to surround the enemy at convenient distances, to check his motions, and to intercept his supplies ; and gave the Scottish regiments to understand that, as soon as they had recovered from the fatigue of their

⁵⁴ There have been many disputes respecting the origin of this measure. I think it plain from Wade (322, 323), that it came from Monmouth himself, and was advocated by lord Grey and Ferguson.

journey, they should proceed to the defence of their own country ⁵⁵.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

Monmouth, on the other hand, reaped no benefit from the assumption of royalty. Though he roamed about the country, no person of quality offered his services ; his friends in the capital and the country remained quiet ; Bath and Bristol refused to admit him within their gates ; and if the militia constantly retired before him, yet his rear was as constantly pressed by several squadrons of cavalry. Despondency succeeded to confidence ; he became fretful, melancholy, and indolent ; and, when he received the news of the fate of Argyle, exclaimed that his last hope was gone. In an agony of despair he proposed to the principal officers to desert their followers in the night, ride to the nearest sea-port, seize on a boat, and commit themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves. But from this unworthy counsel he was diverted by the spirited expostulation of lord Grey, who, whatever he might be in the field, showed no want of energy in the cabinet. After several contradictory resolutions it was resolved to cross the Avon at Keynsham-bridge, the Severn at Gloucester, and to march along the right bank of the last river till they should be joined by their friends from Cheshire : but Venner and Mason, two of his most distinguished partisans, dissenting from this advice,

Despair
of Mon-
mouth.

June 27.

⁵⁵ Fox, App. 113. Barillon, 25, 28 Juin, 9 Juillet.

CHAP. and conceiving themselves released from their obligations to him, made their escape ⁵⁶.
 I.
 1685.

Battle of
 Sedgemoor.

July 5.

The duke still lay at Bridgewater, when the royal army reached Somerton. Not a moment was lost, and his men were already filing out of the town, when additional news arrived that Feversham had quartered his cavalry, five hundred strong, in the village of Weston, and had encamped his infantry to the amount of two thousand regulars on Sedgemoor. It thus became doubtful whether he could reach Keynsham before his opponents, and a resolution was taken to surprise the royal camp during the night. Having distributed a considerable quantity of liquor among his troops, he led them from Bridgewater by a circuitous route to avoid the patrols on the road, and reached the edge of the moor about one in the morning. But his arrival was soon discovered, and the alarm given; lord Grey, with five squadrons of horse, pushed forward to burst without delay into the camp; but their advance was suddenly arrested by a broad ditch lined on the opposite bank with the royal infantry; and, as they rode along the margin to discover a passage, a few volleys compelled them to wheel to the right; when, after a skirmish in the dark with their own men, this body of cavalry was totally dispersed ⁵⁷. Another body of three squa-

July 6.

⁵⁶ Wade, 327.

⁵⁷ It was alleged that Monmouth and his followers knew not of the existence of the ditch. This I think doubtful: at all events

drons under colonel Jones had followed the first. CHAP. I.
 They made a gallant attempt to force the passage 1685.
 of the ditch, but were repulsed and formed again
 at a distance. Monmouth, as soon as the action
 began, ordered the foot to advance with the
 utmost expedition: they halted at the distance of
 eighty paces from the enemy, and continued to
 fire for a considerable time, though they were
 answered only by the royal artillery. In the
 meanwhile Feversham had brought the cavalry
 from Weston and posted them on the right flank
 of the enemy. The moment it became light, he
 ordered the infantry to cross the ditch; the
 cavalry charged at the same time; the insur-
 gents, after a short resistance with scythes and
 the but-ends of their muskets, were broken; and
 the moor was covered with scattered parties of
 runaways and pursuers in every direction. The
 victors lost three hundred men in killed and
 wounded: of the vanquished five hundred fell on
 the field, and thrice that number were made
 prisoners⁵⁸.

it is plain from Paschull's account that it was passable in different parts, and we find that the royal infantry actually passed it in face of the enemy to charge them.

⁵⁸ I have given the best account I could collect of this battle from the official papers in Haynes, ii. 305—314. Wade, *ibid.* 329. Paschull in Heywood, App. 29, 37, 40, 41, 43. Barillon, 9 Juillet. Dalrymple, 132, 134. James, ii. 30. Burnet, iii. 48. Echard, 1065; and Evelyn, who says that most of the slain were Mendip miners, iii. 164.

CHAP. I. It might have been expected that Monmouth,
1685. aware of the doom which must be his lot, if he
fell into the hands of his enemies, would have
preferred to perish in the company of the brave
men, whom he had induced to risk their lives in
his cause. But he was already several miles
from the field of battle. Under the persuasion
that his followers, however numerous, were unable
to cope with a disciplined force, he had placed all
his hope of success in the confusion which might
be created by a nocturnal surprise: and the
moment he learned from lord Grey that the
royalists were on their guard, and had repulsed
the cavalry, he left the army under the covert of
darkness, and in the company of Grey and Busse,
an officer formerly in the service of the elector of
Brandenburg, proceeded at full gallop along the
road leading to the north. From the summit of
an eminence they turned to take a last view of
the field, witnessed the sanguinary defeat of their
adherents, and, resuming their pace, hastened to
the Mendip-hills, where they disguised their
persons and turned towards the New Forest in
the hope of procuring on that coast some convey-
ance beyond the sea. On Cranborn Chase they
quitted their horses, and, letting them loose, pro-
ceeded on foot. But the result of the action at
Sedgemoor was already known; and parties of
cavalry from Kingwood and Pool were scouring
the country to prevent the escape of the fugitives.

Capture
of Mon-
mouth
and Grey.

Early in the morning lord Grey and the guide were made prisoners at the junction of two cross roads: Monmouth and Busse had time to burst through a hedge, and conceal themselves in the fields: but they had been seen by a woman, who gave information; lord Lunley and colonel Portman, the commanding officers, agreed to divide the reward, 5000*l.*, between their respective parties; a line of sentinels was drawn in a circle round the spot; and the rest of the men were employed to beat the enclosures. During the remainder of the day the two fugitives eluded the search of the pursuers: but at five the next morning the Brandenburgher was taken, who owned that he had parted from the duke only four hours before. At seven, Monmouth himself was discovered, lying in a ditch, and covered with fern. The captors conducted him to Kingwood, whence, after two days' repose, he was removed to the capital ⁵⁹.

CHAP.

I.
1685.

July 7.

July 8.

From the timidity of Monmouth in the field it could not be expected that he would face with steadiness the death, which now awaited him on the scaffold. By the act of attainder he was already condemned, and could have no hope of life but from the pity or generosity of the king. But what claim had he on that prince? Twenty months had not elapsed since he had obtained the

Monmouth
writes to
James.

⁵⁹ Account of the Manner of Taking the late Duke of Monmouth. Harleian Miscellany, vi. 321. Gazette, 2058.

CHAP. pardon of James on a solemn promise to be the
 I.
 1685. first to draw the sword in defence of his rights :
 ——— and yet he had ungratefully levied an army
 against him, had set the crown on his own head,
 had publicly declared the king a murderer, a
 tyrant, and an usurper, and had announced to the
 world that on account of his crimes he would
 pursue him to the death. Still in the face of this
 provocation the love of life taught him not to
 despair, and from Kingwood he wrote to James a
 supplicatory letter, expressing his deep remorse
 for his ingratitude and rebellion, attributing the
 blame to the counsels of “ false and horrid ”
 companions ; and soliciting the favour of a per-
 sonal interview, as much for the king’s sake as
 for his own. He had that to reveal which he
 could not commit to paper, that which would
 secure to the monarch a long and happy reign.
 A single word, did he dare write it, would be
 sufficient to prove his repentance for the past, and
 his loyalty for the future. To this letter he
 added two others of similar import, one to
 Rochester, the favourite minister, and another to
 the queen dowager, who had repeatedly inter-
 ceded in his favour with the last sovereign ⁶⁰.

His inter-
 view with
 the king.

July 13.

Monmouth, on his arrival in London, was con-
 ducted, in company with Grey, to the apartment
 of Chiffinch at Whitehall. After dinner, having

⁶⁰ State Trials, xi. 1072, note. Clar. Corresp. i. 143. Ellis,
 iii. 343. Barillon, 23 Juillet. See note (B).

his arms loosely tied behind him, he was introduced to the king, who received him in the presence of Sunderland and Middleton, the two secretaries of state. He threw himself on his knees, and implored forgiveness in the most passionate terms: but to James his protestations of remorse and attachment appeared too vehement and extravagant to deserve credit, and his solicitations for life too abject for one who boasted of royal blood in his veins, and had undertaken to act the part of a king. In extenuation of his offence he urged that he had been deceived by messages from England, and by the advice of the exiles in Holland, on whom he liberally bestowed the appellation of rogues and villains. The declaration had been composed by Ferguson, and the royal title had been forced upon him against his own judgment and inclination. This he said in general: what particular information he communicated did not transpire; but so much is certain, that he made no disclosure answerable to the pretensions set forth in his letter. He then threw himself a second time on his knees, supplicating for mercy; but James replied, that by usurping the title of king he had rendered himself incapable of pardon; and, reminding him of his early education under the Oratorians in Paris, requested to know if he wished for the aid of a catholic priest. Monmouth instantly asked, was there then no hope? but the king was silent, and lord Dartmouth received orders to conduct him to the

CHAP. Tower. In the carriage he implored the protection of that nobleman, offered to accept of life
 I.
 1685. — on any terms, threw the blame of his usurpation on every one but himself, and betrayed a meanness of spirit, which excited pity and surprise⁶¹.

The interview with Monmouth has subjected the king to much severe, but perhaps unmerited, censure. He has been accused of want of feeling, in consenting to behold a nephew on his knees with a predetermination not to grant him mercy, and of cruelty in adding to the sufferings of his victim by exciting hopes which he was resolved to disappoint. But his predetermination to refuse the prayer of the criminal has been assumed without any proof: and the interview itself was not of the king's seeking; it was reluctantly granted by him as a favour to the prayers of Monmouth, and of Monmouth's intercessors, and on the representation that the disclosures to be made by the prisoner would on account of their superior

⁶¹ James, ii. 36, 40. Reresby, 212. Dalrymple, 134. Barillon, 23 Juillet. Rose, App. 65. Mazure, ii. 8. These authorities show that no credit is due to the account of this interview in Kennet.—Of Monmouth's discourse with lord Dartmouth in the carriage as they proceeded to the Tower, this statement is given by the son of that nobleman:—"Monmouth pressed him in a most indecent manner to intercede once more with the king for his life on any terms. My father said the king had told him the truth, which was, that he had made him impracticable to save his life, by having declared himself king. That's my misfortune, said he, and those that put me upon it will fare better themselves; and then told him that lord Grey had threatened to leave him on his first landing if he did not do it." Burnet, iii. 51, note.

importance cancel his crimes of treason and usurpation. In such circumstances the refusal of the interview might with greater reason have been adduced as a proof of cruelty. As to the alleged relationship of uncle and nephew, it could not operate with much force on the mind of a prince, who disputed the history of Monmouth's birth. Lucy Barlow had other lovers at the Hague in addition to Charles Stuart; and it was the belief, not only of James but of many besides James, that the real father of her child was colonel Robert Sydney⁶².

On the removal of Monmouth, Grey was introduced. His manner and language offered a striking contrast to that of the leader, whom he had followed. His behaviour to the king was respectful, and his answers to the royal questions were delivered with modesty and firmness: but he made no disclosure, and asked for no favour. James himself could not abstain from allowing him the praise of resolution. Monmouth received notice to prepare for death within forty-eight hours: Grey, who had not been attainted, was reserved for trial according to the due course of law⁶³.

The first person who visited the duke in the Tower was his wife, in company with the lord privy seal, the earl of Clarendon. Few persons

CHAP.
I.
1685.

He is followed by lord Grey.

The duchess visits Monmouth.

⁶² James, i. 491. Evelyn, iii. 168. Macpherson, i. 77.

⁶³ Dalrymple, 134. Barillon, 26 Juillet.

CHAP. thought that she could feel any lively interest in
I.
1685. the welfare of a husband who, though she had
— brought him a princely fortune, had always treated
her with neglect, and for the last two years had
deserted her for a rival, Henrietta Wentworth.
But she deemed it her duty to preserve the inheritance of the Buccleugh family for her children, and with that view was anxious to prove to the king that she had no participation in the treason of her lord. Monmouth received her coldly, but improved the opportunity to plead his cause with lord Clarendon in the same manner as he had so recently done with lord Dartmouth. Clarendon replied that the sole object of their visit was to afford him the opportunity of speaking, in private if he wished it, with the duchess: that to excuse himself by accusing his advisers, was useless. The plea had been once admitted, and he had been pardoned. He could not expect the same result a second time. Monmouth, however, persisted in the use of similar arguments till he was interrupted by the duchess inquiring, whether she had ever received any information from him respecting his late attempt, or had ever approved of his political conduct for some years, or had ever given him occasion of displeasure on any question, except it were his attention to other women, and his disobedience to the late king. He replied that he had found her a loving and dutiful consort, had no charge to make against her as wife, mother, or subject, and had been frequently advised by her to

pay greater deference than he had done to the commands of his deceased father ⁶⁴.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

After their departure the unfortunate prisoner continued to delude himself with the hope of saving his life, and spent the night in devising plans to move the pity, or subdue the resolution of the king. In the morning he despatched letters or messages to James ⁶⁵, to the queen regnant, to the queen dowager, and to the lords Annandale, Dover, Tyrconnel, and Arundel. He offered to profess himself a catholic: he solicited a second interview with the king; he prayed at least for a respite of a few days; a petition which might naturally arise from his love of life, but which was attributed to his faith in the prediction of an astrologer, that if he should survive the feast of St. Swithin (the next day), he should live afterwards many years. But these efforts were fruitless. Lord Feversham came, indeed, to receive his communication for the king; but it proved a mere

⁶⁴ See the account of this interview in the Buccleugh MS. published by Mr. Rose, App. p. 65. From its contents I collect that the object of the duchess was such as I have represented it in the text. Barillon says that their language was "*assez aigre de part et autre, et qu'il ne lui parla qu'avec d dain,*" (Barillon, 26 Juillet; Dalrymple, 168); expressions much too strong, unless their asperity has been softened in the MS. Evelyn (Diary, iii. 167) and Burnet (iii. 50) say that they treated each other coldly. James (ii. 37) adds that when he was first told of the wish of the duchess to see him, he disowned her, instead of saying that she might be introduced.

⁶⁵ The letter to the king has been published by Mr. Ellis, first series, iii. 346.

CHAP. repetition of his discourse of the preceding day,
 I.
 1685. afterwards arrived to prepare him for death on the following morning⁶⁶. At the announcement he seemed lost in an agony of terror : but the struggle was quickly over : the very absence of hope restored the serenity of his mind ; and from that moment he was able to look death in the face with an air of composure which assumed almost the appearance of indifference.

Disputes
 with the
 bishops.

It was not long before the two prelates discovered, that they had undertaken no very grateful task. Monmouth had imbibed opinions which shocked their orthodoxy, and adhered to them with a pertinacity which embarrassed their zeal. They considered the profession of the doctrine of passive obedience an indispensable test of adhesion to the church of England : he strenuously maintained the lawfulness of resistance to authority in cases of oppression. They looked upon him as guilty of the sin of rebellion, and responsible for the blood which had been shed in his

⁶⁶ Burnet, iii. 51. James (Memoirs), ii. 40. Reresby, 213. "My uncle," says lord Dartmouth, "showed me several charms that were tied about him when he was taken ; and his table-book was full of astrological figures, which nobody could understand. He told my uncle that they had been given him some years before in Scotland, but said he now found they were but foolish conceits." Burnet, iii. 51, note. Barillon says that in the book *il y avoit des secrets de magie et d'enchantment avec des chansons, des recettes pour des maladies, et des prieres*. Mazure, ii. 9. Barillon, 26 Juillet.

quarrel: he denied that there was anything sinful in the attempt, though he should certainly feel regret if it had occasioned the loss of a single soul among the men who perished on his account. They called on him to repent of his adulterous connection with lady Harriet Wentworth: he replied that his union with that lady (though she had already borne him a child ⁶⁷) was innocent in the sight of heaven. He had, indeed, married the heiress of Buccleugh: but he was then too young to understand the nature of the contract; and the consequence of this premature union was, that for several years he indulged without restraint in every vicious gratification. At length he saw the lady Harriet. He loved, and was loved by her: both prayed that God would root out this mutual affection, if it were displeasing to him. But it continued to grow: its growth was to them a proof of the divine approbation; and from that moment he sought by prayer and fasting to obtain the mastery over his passions, and carefully abstained from all commerce with other women. The lady Harriet was his real, the duchess of Monmouth nothing more than his legal, wife. Unable to convince him of his error, they refused to administer the sacrament, and with difficulty obtained from him a promise to recommend the matter to God during

CHAP.
I.
1685.

⁶⁷ "Dont il a un enfant." Barillon, 26 Juillet.

CHAP. the night, and to pray that his mind might be
 I.
 1685. enlightened by the Holy Spirit.

Is visited
 again by
 the duch-
 ess.
 July 15.

The next morning he was visited at his request, and with the royal permission, by Dr. Hooper, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, and by Dr. Tennison, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. These divines concurred in doctrine with the two prelates: but Monmouth had prayed: no change of sentiment followed his prayer; and on that account he was still more confirmed in his former opinions. His children by the duchess, who for precaution had been sent to the Tower when their father took the title of king, were now introduced, and were followed by that lady herself, whom he received with a greater show of kindness than on her former visit. He repeated what he had previously said in her praise, acknowledged that for the last year she had held no correspondence with him even by letter, and begged her to forgive his failings, and continue her kindness to their children. At these words she sunk to the ground, embraced his knees, and requested him to pardon her, if she had given him just cause of offence. But her frame was too delicate to support the poignancy of her feelings, and she was carried away senseless in the arms of her attendants. "Noe bystanders," says the author of the narrative, "could see this, the mourningest scene in the world, without melting in tears: he (Monmouth) did not show the least concernedness."

At ten the prisoner was conducted to the place of execution on Tower-hill. On the scaffold his reverend and right reverend assistants renewed their exhortations with an importunity, which, though it arose from a sense of duty, appeared to many to savour of hard-heartedness. They extorted from him an acknowledgment of sorrow for the blood which had been shed, and prevailed on him after some demur to utter a tardy and reluctant *amen* to the prayer for the king: but on the two other subjects, the doctrine of non-resistance, and the lawfulness of his connection with Harriet Wentworth, he retained his former opinion. The only speech which he had prepared was in defence of that lady. He declared that she was “a woman of virtue and honour, a virtuous and godly woman: that he had committed no sin with her, and that what had passed between them was honest and innocent in the sight of God.” While he undressed, the four divines prayed, but in terms which indicated their opinion of his spiritual blindness, “that God would accept his repentance—his imperfect repentance—his general repentance.” But Monmouth was still unmoved. He had already told them that he repented of whatever evil he had committed; that God had forgiven him his sins; and that he should die with chearfulness and like a lamb, not because he was naturally without fear, but because he felt within him a supernatural assurance that he was ascending to heaven.

CHAP.

I.
1685.Prepares
for death.

CHAP. I. There is something most appalling in the conclusion of this tragedy. Monmouth warned the
 1685. — headsman not to mangle him, as he had mangled
 And is be- lord Russell; and the very admonition seems to
 headed. have unnerved the man for the execution of his task. He took his aim so unskilfully, or struck so feebly, that he inflicted but a slight gash, and the sufferer, raising his body from the block, turned his head to the left side, as if he meant to complain. After two more strokes, life seemed to be extinct, and the executioner, alarmed at his own bloody work, threw down the axe, asserting with an oath that his heart failed him, and that he would do no more. But the sheriffs compelled him to resume the implement of death, and at the fifth blow he severed the head from the body⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ See for all these particulars the Buccleugh MS. Rose, App. 65. Account of the execution of the duke of Monmouth, signed by the four divines and the sheriffs, Somers, Tracts, collect. i. vol. i. p. 216. Letter from Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, to Fell, bishop of Oxford, in Hearne's Hemingforde, i. 177. Barillon, 26 Juillet. Reresby, 213. Evelyn, iii. 167. Dalrymple, 135. Gazette, 2052. Echard, 1037. State Trials, xi. 1068—1083. On the scaffold Monmouth delivered to the sheriffs a paper stating that he had taken the title of king through compulsion, and acknowledging that he had been assured of his own illegitimacy by his father; wherefore he prayed that his children might not be made to suffer on account of his offences. That prayer was granted, in as much as James restored every thing to the family with the exception of the English title: but I question the story of his having called on the duchess the day after the execution at breakfast, and given her a remission of her husband's forfeiture. It is not noticed by the author of the Buccleugh MS., who wrote his narrative that day, and merely says

While the leader thus paid the forfeit of his ambition in the capital, his followers in the country were abandoned to the mercy or discretion of the conquerors. Some of the royal commanders displayed their loyalty by the execution of martial law on the rebel prisoners: and of these the most active was Colonel Kirk, a rough soldier from Tangier, of whose wanton and unfeeling barbarity stories were related, which, if true, ought to have rendered him an object of horror to every human being, but which probably were false, since they did not prevent him from being caressed and distinguished by the prince who expelled James from the throne. To such proceedings an end was put by the peremptory order of the king: not that he sought to release the rebels from the consequences of their guilt;—for the danger to which the throne and the church had been exposed from the fanatical and republican principles of the insurgents called in the opinion of many for a severe and memorable

CHAP.
I.
1685.

Fate of
his fol-
lowers.

that the king was exceedingly satisfied with her conduct, and had assured her that he would take care of her and her children: nor by Barillon, who writes on August 3 that she had twice been in company with the king and queen; and it is inconsistent with the proceedings which took place in Scotland respecting the trial and forfeiture of Monmouth on the 21st of December, and the judgment which was pronounced on the 15th of February. See them in Howell's State Trials, xi. 1023—1067. Barillon, on June 7, 1686, mentions the restoration of the property as having recently occurred (Dalrymple, App. 168); and Clarendon also on June 12. Clar. Corresp. 444.

CHAP. example⁶⁹—but that he wished the punishment
 I.
 1685. to follow according to due course of law, and
 — after the forms of criminal justice. With this
 view a commission was appointed, consisting of
 Jeffreys, who three months before had been raised
 to the peerage, of Montague, the chief baron,
 and of three puisne judges. On account of the
 danger to which they might be exposed in the
 revolted counties, they were accompanied by a
 strong military escort, the command of which,
 with the temporary rank of lieutenant-general,
 was entrusted to Jeffreys; and it was probably
 this singular union of the military with the
 judicial character that induced the wits to give
 to his progress during the circuit the nickname
 of “Jeffreys’ campaign”⁷⁰.

Trial and
 execution
 of Mrs.
 Lisle.
 Aug. 27.

They opened the commission at Winchester, where the only trial connected with Monmouth’s invasion, was that of Alicia Lisle, the relict of him who had been one of the judges of Charles I., a joint commissioner of the great seal, and chief judge of the High Court of Justice under the commonwealth. The offence with which this aged female was charged offers a sufficient reason why she was called to plead for her life; though

⁶⁹ “Such an inundation of phanatics and men of impious principles must needs have caused universal disorder, cruelty, injustice, rapine, sacrilege, and confusion, an unavoidable civil war, and misery without end.” Evelyn, iii. 169, 170.

⁷⁰ James himself gives it this name in two letters to the prince of Orange. Dalrymple, 165.

some writers have sought it in the revengeful dis- CHAP. position of the cavaliers, anxious to punish on I. the widow the sins of her husband, and others in 1685. — the displeasure occasioned by the countenance which she had always given to the doctrines of the “good old cause.” After the battle two of the combatants, Nelthorpe, an outlaw on account of the Rye-house plot, and Hicks, an obnoxious non-conformist minister, had found an asylum in her house, and had been denied by her to colonel Penruddock, who had received information of their concealment. At her trial she put to the court this very pertinent question, whether she could be convicted of harbouring a traitor before the person so harboured had himself been convicted of treason: and when Jeffreys overruled the objection on the ground that it was sufficient to prove that she had not been cognizant of the treason⁷¹, she maintained that of Nelthorpe she knew nothing, as she had not even heard his name, and Hicks she had received under the supposition that a warrant was issued against him for some breach of the conventicle act. That this excuse was in truth a mere pretence must be evident to any one who attends to the unwilling testimony of the witnesses: but the jury, con-

⁷¹ This was contrary to the doctrine of Hale, that such person should not be tried on a separate indictment till the principal was convicted, because the receiver is so far an accessory, that he cannot be guilty if the principal be innocent. State Trials, xi. 371, note.

CHAP. sisting of some of the first commoners in the
 I. county, sought to give her the benefit of the
 1685. least doubt, and inquired of the court if there
 ————— were sufficient proof of her knowledge that Hicks
 had been in the rebel army. Jeffreys in strong
 language expressed his surprise at such a question.
 They might, indeed, doubt, and of the fact they
 were the judges; but for his own part he thought
 the proof as strong as proof could be⁷². The
 unfortunate woman was found guilty; and
 Aug. 31. James, to those who solicited him in her favour,

⁷² Burnet's account of the trial abounds with inaccuracies. Giving credit to the public prints (Coke, ii. 339) he tells us that the jury returned twice a verdict of not guilty, and were at last compelled to return a verdict of guilty by a threat of attain from the judge: but of these three verdicts there appears no notice either in the printed trial, or in the paper which Mrs. Lisle delivered to the sheriffs at her death. Moreover, if we may believe him, Jeffreys "affirmed to the jury on his honour that the persons had confessed that they had been with the duke, which was the turning a witness against her." (Burnet, iii. 60.) But this is a representation calculated to mislead the reader. After a long and most severe examination, accompanied with threats and adjurations, Jeffreys had extracted the truth from a prevaricating witness, and an acknowledgment that the first part of his testimony was false. The judge then, to account for what must have appeared extraordinary in his own conduct, observed, that it proceeded from his knowledge that the witness was perjured, because Nelthorpe himself, one of the parties, had privately confessed to him all the circumstances. Aware, however, that in making this remark he had gone too far, he added that he "would not mention any such thing as any piece of evidence to influence the case, but he could not but tremble to think, after what he knew, that any man should dare so much to prevaricate with God and man, as to tell such horrid lies in the face of the court." *State Trials*, xi. 355.

replied that he could do nothing, that he had left the case in the hands of the chief justice. He substituted, however, decapitation for the legal punishment of burning: a mitigation of the judgment which his opponents have termed an usurpation of power contrary to law, as if our princes had not always exercised that power, on the ground that he who may lawfully remit the whole punishment by a pardon, may at his discretion commute it for another infliction less painful or less infamous⁷³.

From Winchester the court proceeded through Salisbury to Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, in each of which places a multitude of prisoners awaited their doom from the mouth of their stern and inexorable judge. That they had forfeited their lives by the laws of their country, cannot be denied; and that many among them were incorrigible enthusiasts, who publicly avowed the righteousness of their cause, and their readiness to renew the attempt, is also true: yet the demands of justice ought certainly to have been satisfied, and a salutary example might have been made, without that deluge of blood so unsparingly

CHAP.
I.
1685.

Sept. 2.

And of
the rebels
in the
west.
Sept. 3.

⁷³ At the revolution the attainder of this lady was reversed, together with several others, for two reasons, because Hicks, the principal, at the time of her trial had not been convicted, and because the verdict of the jury had been extorted "by the menaces, and violences, and other illegal practices of the judge." State Trials, xi. 381.

CHAP. poured out by Jeffreys and his associates. All
^{1.}
1685. who at their trials were convicted suffered in the
—— course of twenty-four hours : the great majority,
who pleaded guilty, were gratified with a short
reprieve, during which they made with different
success applications for mercy. Out of the whole
number some were pardoned ; many whipped
and imprisoned ; above eight hundred trans-
ported to the plantations, and three hundred and
thirty executed as felons and traitors. The chief
justice seems to have taken for a precedent the
sanguinary conduct of those who in the reign of
Elizabeth punished the northern insurgents ; and
like them he permitted no town or hamlet in the
rebellious district to escape without the useful
lesson to be derived from the execution of some
of the guilty. Many instances are also related of
the indecent haste with which he consigned his
fellow creatures to the gallows, and of the sar-
castic levity with which he stung the feelings of
those who interceded in their favour ; but these
tales, though perhaps not abhorrent from the
disposition of the man, depend for their credit on
the veracity of those whose hatred he had deserv-
edly earned by his cruelty, and who gratified
their revenge by heaping disgrace on his cha-
racter. There is better evidence to show that his
zeal to punish the wrong done to the king did not
withdraw his attention from his own interest ;
and that during the circuit he amassed a con-

siderable sum of money, probably by the sale of his friendship and protection⁷⁴.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

But if Jeffreys executed his task with a rigour far beyond that which the circumstances of the case required, where are we to look for the cause of his severity? To the temper of the judge, or the orders of the monarch? On the one hand, according to Burnet, James received a daily account of the proceedings from Jeffreys, and spoke of them in terms of satisfaction both at his table and in the drawing-room⁷⁵; and according to a respectable tradition, the chief justice on his death-bed in the Tower, declared that "what he did, he did by express orders, and that he was not half bloody enough for the prince who sent him thither⁷⁶: on the other a witness who had the means of knowing the truth, the earl of Mulgrave, afterwards duke of Normanby and Buckingham, assures us that James "compassionated

The cause
of these
severities.

⁷⁴ From the parliamentary inquiry instituted in the next reign it appears that he was paid 1416*l.* 10*s.* by the crown solicitors, Graham and Burton. It is also stated that he extorted 14,500*l.* from Mr. Prideaux, to save him from prosecution. When, however, a bill was introduced after the revolution to recover that sum out of his estates, it was defeated chiefly by the influence of Pollexfen, the lord chief justice, one of his trustees. See *Memoirs of Judge Jeffreys*, 238.

⁷⁵ Burnet, iii. 56. Burnet, however, was not in England at the time, but says that he received these particulars from Dykveldt, the Dutch ambassador, who was no great friend of James.

⁷⁶ See a note by speaker Onslow in Burnet, iii. 61. Onslow received the anecdote from Jekyl, Jekyl from lord Somers, and Somers from Dr. Scot, who attended the dying man.

CHAP. his enemies so much, as never to forgive Jeffreys
 I. in executing such multitudes of them in the west,
 1685. contrary to his express orders ⁷⁷ ;” and we are
 moreover told that when bishop Kenn and sir
 Thomas Cutler, the commanding officer at Wells,
 solicited mercy for some of the convicts, the king
 not only granted their request chearfully, but
 afterwards meeting sir Thomas, thanked him for
 his intercession, and expressed a wish that others
 had imitated his humanity ⁷⁸.

The king's
 projects
 in parlia-
 ment.

James was now triumphant over his enemies ;
 and this very circumstance, which seemed to have
 established his throne, mainly contributed to its
 downfall, by inspiring him with an erroneous
 notion of his own security, and teaching him to
 despise the murmurs and opposition of his sub-
 jects. During the last session of parliament he
 had obtained, what he could hardly expect, an
 augmented income for life : in the next he hoped
 to accomplish three things on which he had set
 his heart, the establishment of a standing army,
 the employment of catholic officers, and a modi-
 fication of the habeas corpus act. 1. In common
 with his late brother he had always considered a
 king without an army as possessing little more
 than the name of a sovereign, and therefore
 viewed with regret the disbanding of the nu-

⁷⁷ Accounts of the Revolution, amidst the Castrations in his
 Works, ii. p. xi.

⁷⁸ Burnet, ii. 62, note.

merous force which had been raised by Charles to oppose the encroachments of Louis in Flanders. On the landing of Monmouth he found himself compelled at first to entrust the defence of the throne to the militia of the neighbouring counties. Experience showed the utter inefficiency of this species of force. For several weeks, as the reader has seen, the invaders traversed the country at their pleasure: and there is little doubt that, had they brought with them a body of regular troops, or had their partisans risen simultaneously in several places, the attempt would have led to a protracted contest, if not to a very different result. James was thus confirmed in his former opinion. During the danger he gave out commissions for the levy of new regiments, till he raised the army to the amount of fourteen thousand men⁷⁹; and now he was resolved to keep the whole force embodied, with, as he hoped, the approbation of parliament. 2. Among the officers who had obtained command in the new levies were several catholics, men who had faithfully served the crown on former occasions, and on whose fidelity the king relied the more firmly, because they professed the same religion with

CHAP.
I.
1685.

⁷⁹ According to Barillon, (6 Août, 1685) to fifteen thousand foot, three thousand horse, and one thousand dragoons. "Thus," says lord Lonsdale, "my lord Russell's plott first made the king, when duke, popular, and Monmouth's rebellion gave occasion for raising an armie which continues to this day." Lonsdale's Memoir, p. 13.

CHAP. himself. But by law they were not only inca-
 I.
 1685. pable of holding any commission in the army,
 — but also liable to penalties for the part which
 they had taken in the suppression of the rebellion.
 James determined to shelter them from prosecution,
 to retain them in their respective offices, and
 even to procure the repeal of the test act, of
 which, though he himself had been the object,
 they had become the victims. 3. The statute of
 the 31st of Charles II., which enforced and
 improved the writ of habeas corpus, was not less
 objectionable in the royal estimation than the test
 act itself. It abridged the right formerly claimed
 by the crown of retaining suspected persons in
 custody; and though its beneficial effects had
 been repeatedly experienced by the friends of the
 monarch, yet in the committals on account of the
 Rye-house plot and of Monmouth's invasion, it
 had furnished many whom James believed criminal
 with the means of obtaining their discharge,
 before legal evidence of their guilt could be collected.
 On this account the king declared that till some
 alteration should be effected in that act, the government
 was left without the arms necessary for its own
 protection⁸⁰.

Diversity
 of opinion
 in the
 council.

It was not to be expected that on these three
 questions all the members of the cabinet should

⁸⁰ Barillon, in Fox, App. 127. Dalrymple, 166, 170, 177. "Le
 feu roi d'A. et celui-ci m'ont souvent dit, qu'un gouvernement ne
 peut subsister avec une telle loi" (d'habeas corpus). Barillon,
 10 Dec.

coincide in opinion with the sovereign. The example of foreign nations showed that the establishment of a standing army generally led to the introduction of despotism; and it was argued that the two acts, the objects of his aversion, were the chief bulwarks of religion and liberty; that, if the test were abolished, the church could not stand under the catholic monarch, and if the writ of habeas corpus were taken away, the rights of the people might be trampled under foot at the pleasure of any prince, who should chance to sit on the throne. Such had long been the avowed sentiments of the marquess of Halifax, lord president of the council, and such, though more warily expressed, were the real opinions of the earl of Rochester, who, whatever might be his attachment to the doctrines, sought like his father to be looked up to as the patron of the church⁸¹. But James, who did not approve the temporizing policy of his brother, had laid it down for a maxim, that it was folly in a sovereign to allow any man to remain in office, who would employ the influence of office to thwart the measures of government. After a decent interval he removed Halifax from the council, with expressions, indeed, of regard and kindness, but for reasons which he deemed it expedient to keep locked up within his own breast. Those reasons, Oct. 20.

⁸¹ North, the lord keeper, was also of the same party (Barillon, 2 Aout,) but died on the 5th of September.

CHAP. however, were not unknown, and operated as a
 I.
 1685. ——— useful admonition to Rochester, who unwilling to
 promote the objects sought by the king, but
 equally unwilling to forfeit the emoluments of
 office, indulged the delusive hope of retaining the
 royal favour by his passive acquiescence in the
 royal measures. But his conduct was watched,
 and his views were penetrated by the subtle and
 insinuating Sunderland, who to ingratiate himself
 with the king, warmly advocated all the projects
 of James, and to prejudice his rival, as warmly
 complained, that the resistance to those projects
 was caused or encouraged, if not by the intrigues,
 at least by the known hostility, of the lord trea-
 surer. By the expectants of place and emolument
 it was soon perceived that Rochester declined
 daily in influence, while Sunderland slowly but
 steadily crept up to the eminence abandoned by
 that minister ⁸².

And
 among the
 catholics.

The same diversity of opinion which existed in
 the council prevailed among the leading catholics.
 Of the immediate advantage to be derived by them
 from the repeal of the test act, no one could
 doubt: yet many, aware that the spirit of discon-
 tent was stirring, deprecated any alteration which
 might afterwards provoke a reaction. They
 deemed it imprudent to risk the tranquillity which
 they enjoyed for the pursuit of a greater but

⁸² Barillon, *ibid.* 127, 130, 143, et lettres du 22 Oct., 1 Nov.
 Dalrymple, 173. Reresby, 214, 217, 223.

uncertain benefit, and were content to submit to the privations imposed by the laws, provided they might be relieved from the penal and sanguinary statutes prohibiting the private exercise of their worship. But those among them, who possessed the confidence of James, and formed the board at Sunderland's office, concurred in opinion with that minister. They conjured the king not to forfeit by procrastination the present opportunity: this was the time to demand the consent of the two houses to his three favourite measures: his enemies lay prostrate at his feet; and no man would have the boldness to dispute his pleasure ⁶³.

As the time for the meeting of parliament approached, the minds of men became daily more and more agitated. During the rebellion, the levy of forces and the appointment of catholic officers created no great alarm,—the urgency of the case supplied a sufficient justification,—but months had now passed since the battle of Sedgemoor, and the army was still kept up to its former complement. It began to be rumoured that the king cherished designs against the liberties of the country, and it was soon known that

Ferment
in the na-
tion.

⁶³ Les Catholiques, says Barillon, ne sont pas tout à fait d'accord entre eux. Les plus habiles, et ceux qui ont le plus de part à la confiance du roi, connoissent bien que la conjuncture est la plus favorable qu'on puisse espérer, et que si on la laisse échapper, elle pourra bien n'être de long temps si avantageuse. Les jésuits sont de ce sentiment, qui sans doute est le plus raisonnable: mais les catholiques riches et établis craignent l'avenir, et appréhendent un retour, qui les ruineroit, &c. Barillon, *ibid.* 135.

CHAP. he proposed to accomplish the repeal of the two
 I.
 1685. acts. By a strange fatality it chanced that at
 ——— this moment of suspense and disquietude the
 king of France revoked the edict of Nantes, and
 numbers of French protestants sought an asylum
 in England from the persecution which they suffered
 in their own country⁸⁴. The jealousy,
 which already existed, was instantly blown into a
 flame; and the press and the pulpit concurred in
 pouring out invectives in every shape against the
 intolerant spirit of popery. It was to no purpose
 that James laboured to allay the ferment: that
 he openly declared his disapprobation of every
 species of religious persecution, and that he promoted
 with all his influence the measures devised for the
 relief of the refugees. His sincerity was questioned;
 the belief of a secret understanding between him and
 Louis prevailed; and the people everywhere called on
 their representatives to rally in defence of the religion
 and the liberties of the country⁸⁵.

Second
 session
 of
 parliament.
 Nov. 9.

On the appointed day the king opened the
 session with a speech from the throne. Having
 congratulated the two houses on the restoration of
 domestic tranquillity, he called their attention to

⁸⁴ One of the objects of the mission of Bonrepaus to England was to induce the refugees to return to France. It appears from his letter of the 5th of May, 1686, that the whole number amounted to about 4,500, out of whom he prevailed on 509 to return to their native country.

⁸⁵ Barillon, *ibid.* 132, 135. Burnet, iii. 81.

the conduct of the militia during the invasion, which had revealed to the world how little reliance could be placed on the resistance of that force to the progress of a foreign and enterprising enemy. On this account he had deemed it necessary for the safety of the nation and the stability of the government to augment the regular army, and he now called on parliament to provide the means of defraying the additional expense. He was aware that some persons bore commissions in that army who were not qualified by law. But they were for the most part personally known to him, and on many occasions had given convincing proofs of their loyalty. "And," he added, "to deal plainly with you, after having had the benefit of their services in the time of danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of their assistance, should a second rebellion make it necessary." In conclusion he expressed a hope that this matter would produce no dissension between him and the two houses; and promised that, if they were only steady and loyal to him, he would make them the best return in his power, and venture his life in the defence of their interests⁸⁶.

The house of lords returned an address of thanks; the house of commons resolved to consider the speech by paragraphs. The leaders of the court party were the two secretaries, lord

CHAP.
I.
1685.

Opposi-
tion in the
house of
commons.

⁸⁶ Com. Journ. Nov. 9.

- CHAP. Middleton, and sir Richard Graham, lately created
 I.
 1685. viscount Preston of Scotland ; of the opposition
 ——— Seymour, Clarges, Twisden, and Maynard, men of
 considerable weight, and long parliamentary ex-
 perience. On the first division the latter obtained
 the majority by a single vote : in a day or two
 they held at command a majority of thirty or
 Nov. 12. forty voices. 1. The house resolved to grant a
 supply, but at the same time, that they might
 mark their disapprobation of the measure sug-
 gested by the king, accompanied it with a bill for
 Nov. 16. the improvement of the militia. 2. Instead of
 assenting to his proposal in favour of the catholic
 officers, they promised to relieve them from the
 penalties by a bill of indemnity, and prayed him,
 since to keep them in employment was to dispense
 with the law without authority of parliament, to
 give such orders for their discharge as might
 remove all apprehension and jealousy from the
 hearts of his faithful subjects. 3. Having thus
 signified their wishes they proceeded to the
 amount of the supply. The ministers had asked
 for twelve, their opponents offered four, the house
 voted seven hundred thousand pounds. But this
 sum was in reality held out as a lure to the king,
 the more tempting, because being unappropriated
 to any particular object, it might be applied by
 him as he pleased. James, however, was not a
 thoughtless, penurious spendthrift, like his brother.
 His economy was equivalent to an augmentation
 of revenue ; and he resolved to sacrifice the money

rather than yield to the discharge of the officers. CHAP. I.
 Sending for the commons, he declared to them in 1685.
 a tone which marked his displeasure more strongly
 than his words, that he was surprised at their Nov. 17.
 address, that he had already warned them against
 the evils which might spring from jealousy and
 dissension; and that he had hitherto persuaded
 himself that his character for sincerity was a suf-
 ficient motive for confidence in his word. How-
 ever, their jealousy did not make him repent of
 the promises which he had given, nor would he
 ever be provoked to break them, however ill he
 might be treated by the suspicious temper of that
 house.

The next morning, as soon as this speech had Nov. 18.
 been read, Mr. Coke exclaimed, "I hope we are
 Englishmen, and not to be frightened from our
 duty by a few high words." But the house, look-
 ing on his language as disrespectful to the king,
 sent him on the motion of lord Preston to the
 Tower: for it was the advice of the leaders to
 pursue their plan steadily but warily; to maintain
 at all events the inviolability of the test act, but
 at the same time to avoid every unnecessary cause
 of offence⁸⁷.

At length the spirit displayed by the commons
 awakened a similar spirit among the lords. The
 Opposition in the house of lords.

Nov. 19.

⁸⁷ C. Journ. Nov. 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20. Barillon in Fox, 129—141, 146. Reresby, 215—220. Burnet, iii. 85. Dalrymple, 172. Parl. Hist. 1367—1386.

CHAP. I. praise of originating the question was seized by
 1685. the marquess of Winchester, who called the at-
 ———— tention of the house to the illegal employment of
 catholic officers in the army, and was warmly
 supported by the lords Anglesey, Halifax, Not-
 tingham, and Mordaunt, and by no one with
 more effect than by Compton, bishop of London,
 who stated that he spoke the united sentiments of
 the episcopal bench, when he pronounced the test
 act the chief security of the established church.
 The ministers, with the exception of Jeffreys,
 offered but a faint and doubtful resistance, and it
 was ordered that the house should be summoned
 for the following Monday to take the king's
 speech into consideration. James, who, like his
 late brother, attended daily, witnessed the debate
 with feelings of vexation and disappointment.
 He saw the strong opposition which was arrayed
 against him, and perceived that many of his de-
 pendants, even while they spoke in his favour,
 hoped for his defeat. But it was not in his dis-
 position to yield: whether it were firmness of
 mind, as his flatterers called it, or obstinacy as it
 was termed by his enemies, he usually pursued his
 object with the greater ardour, in proportion to
 the number of obstacles thrown in his way; and
 now, instead of conceding to the ascertained opi-
 nion of the two houses, he suddenly prorogued
 the parliament, with the secret resolution of ac-
 complishing by his dispensing power that object,
 which he was not permitted to effect constitu-

Proroga-
 tion.
 Nov. 20.

tionally, with the consent of the lords and commons⁸⁸.

CHAP.
I.
1685.

On the suppression of the rebellion the vengeance of the law had fallen chiefly on the insurgents actually in arms: after the prorogation several persons of higher rank, the suspected, though not avowed, associates of Monmouth, were called upon to establish their innocence. 1. Of these the first was lord Brandon. During the summer lord Grey, the companion of Monmouth in his flight, had betrayed a disposition to make disclosures; the manner in which the overture was accepted, encouraged him to proceed; and he sent to the king a written confession detailing the whole history of the Rye-house plot, and of the invasions of Monmouth and Argyle. James was satisfied: Grey, having received a pardon, became a legal witness, and on the trial of lord Brandon, repeated in the presence of the court the substance of his previous confession. Notwithstanding the odium which naturally attaches to the man, who impeaches his associates, the jury gave credit to his testimony, and the prisoner received judgment of death, but afterwards obtained his pardon through the influence of Mason, his wife's sister, and one of the king's mistresses⁸⁹. 2. The next

Nov. 12.

Lord
Brandon.

Nov. 26.

⁸⁸ L. Journ. xiv. 88. Barillon, 29 Nov.; 3 Dec. Reresby, 220, 222. Burnet, iii. 85.

⁸⁹ Bar. 10 Sep.; 6, 22 Nov.; 13 Dec. Dalr. 175. BourcEPS, 7 Aout. State Trials, xi. 1091, note. Grey's outlawry was not

CHAP. I. person arraigned at the bar was Hampden, not
 1685. for any participation in the late attempt of Mon-
 mouth (for he had been two years in confine-
 ment), but for his share in the Rye-house plot.
 To his plea that he had been already tried for
 that offence, it was answered, that in the first
 instance there appeared but one witness against
 him, and he was therefore charged only with a
 misdemeanour: now a second, the lord Grey,
 would be produced, and he was therefore charged
 with a different offence, that of high treason.
 The prisoner, aware of the consequences, preferred
 to plead guilty, and throw himself on the royal
 mercy. He was reprieved, a pardon followed;
 and the court, in obedience to the king's writ,
 reversed the outlawry⁹⁰. 3. The lord Delamere,
 the son of the celebrated sir George Booth, was

Lord De-
lamere.

reversed till the 17th of June, 1686, when he was restored in blood. Of his character no man can form any favourable opinion, who recollects his seduction of his sister-in-law, the lady Henrietta Berkeley, and his cowardice in the skirmish at Bridport. It is, however, but justice to observe that there is no evidence to show that he misbehaved at the battle of Sedgemoor, or was guilty of any substantial misrepresentation in his confession. Such misrepresentation would have been impolitic by misleading James, and must have rendered him very obnoxious after the revolution. Yet he was created by king William earl of Tankerville, and appointed to the offices of first lord of the admiralty and of lord privy seal.

⁹⁰ If we may believe Hampden, in his answer to the house of lords after the revolution, "his friends offered 6,000*l.* for his pardon to some in power, who were the lords Jeffreys and Mr. Petre. This was effectual. He pleaded guilty, and obtained his pardon." L. Journ. xiv. 379.

arraigned before Jeffreys, who had lately been appointed lord chancellor⁹¹, and now sate as lord high steward, with twenty-seven peers for his assessors. Delamere's objection to the jurisdiction of the court, and his claim to be tried in parliament, were overruled: but there appeared against him only one positive witness, whose prevarication was too evident to be concealed; and hence, though of his intention to rise in support of Monmouth no doubt could exist, he obtained an unanimous acquittal. James, who attended at the proceedings, concurred in the propriety of the verdict: but declared that Saxton the witness, who, to save his own life, had offered himself as an informer, should suffer the punishment both of his perjury and his treason. Of this threat the first part was put in execution. Saxton, having been convicted, stood thrice in the pillory, was twice publicly whipped, and then committed to prison till he should pay a fine of three hundred marks⁹².

4. The earl of Stanford was equally fortunate with his associate lord Delamere. A day had been appointed for his trial in parliament: it was post-

CHAP.

I.
1685.

1686.

Jan. 14.

Feb. 8.

The earl
of Stam-
ford.

1686.

March 10.

⁹¹ The lord keeper died Sep. 5. The next day the great seal was delivered to the king, "who went immediately to council, every body guessing who was most likely to succeed this great officer: most believing it could be no other than my lord chief justice Jefferies." Evelyn, iii. 173. See also Barillon, 17 Sep. James wrote to him to expedite the business of the circuit, and gave him the appointment on Sep. 28.

⁹² State Trials, xi. 509—600. Dalrymple, 166. Ellis Cor. i. 16. 22.

CHAP. I.
1685. poned by the prorogation, and the king consented that he should take the benefit of an act of amnesty, which was published in the spring⁹³. The advocates of James have often appealed to these instances of clemency in answer to the charge so repeatedly advanced by his opponents, that he was a cruel and inexorable enemy, who delighted in shedding the blood of his victims.

Rival parties in the cabinet.

In the mean time the diversity of opinion, which prevailed in the council before the last session of parliament, had led to the formation of two hostile parties at court under the rival statesmen Rochester and Sunderland. Rochester still held the first place in the administration; his attachment to James in the time of adversity gave him a strong claim on the gratitude of the monarch; and his interest was supported by the duke of Ormond, the lords Feversham, Dartmouth, Middleton, and Preston, by the majority of the episcopal bench, by the envoys of all the powers hostile to the ambitious projects of Louis XIV., by the moderate party among the Roman catholics, who promised themselves more real benefit

⁹³ Gazette, 2120. This pardon contained a great number of exceptions, among which the most singular was that of the girls who presented the bible and sword to Monmouth at Taunton, not that it was intended to bring them to punishment, but to make the parents, the real delinquents, pay for the disloyal office which they had imposed on their children. For the pardon of each a fine was required proportionate to the circumstances of the parent, and the whole sum was divided among the queen's maids of honour. *Memoirs of the life of judge Jeffreys*, 215.

from his connivance, than from the interested zeal of his competitor, and (which may surprise the reader) in some measure by the papal nuncio himself, who, though he took no prominent part in politics, secretly sought and followed the counsels of the Spanish ambassador, the friend of Rochester. On the other hand Sunderland, aware of the offence which he had given in the late reign, laboured to atone for his past misdeeds by a blind devotion to the pleasure of the sovereign. Among the protestants he was assured of the hearty co-operation of Jeffreys, and he indulged a persuasion that he might also rely on the more doubtful support of lord Godolphin : but his principal hope of success was in the influence of father Petre and of the ultra-catholics, whom he had bound to his interests by constantly putting himself forward as their devoted friend and champion. In point of rank and patronage a secretary of state was, indeed, no match for a lord high treasurer : but Sunderland did not despair of obtaining the staff on some future occasion, and, as an intermediate step, attempted to add to the office which he held that of president of the council. On the removal of Halifax, he asked it of the king, and met with a refusal. He next employed the good offices of Jeffreys, but Jeffreys proved equally unsuccessful. As a last resource Petre was brought forward, who represented to James that it was as much his interest to reward the man, who seconded his views in favour of the catholics, as to disgrace

CHAP.

I.
1685.

CHAP. *him* by whom they had been thwarted. His reasoning or importunity prevailed: after the prorogation Sunderland, without resigning the secretaryship, took his place as president of the council; and this promotion was hailed by his dependents as a proof of increasing interest with the king, though it still remained a problem with many which of the rival ministers would ultimately prevail ⁹⁴.

Their opposite
counsels.

It seems never to have entered into the minds of statesmen at this period, that it might be a duty to resign office rather than lend the sanction of their names to measures which they condemned. Their oath bound them to express their opinion in council: when this was done, they conceived that they had discharged their consciences; and it only remained for them to expiate their presumption in differing from the sovereign by their humble submission to the royal will. Hence the two leaders continued to act together in the cabinet, though guided by opposite views, and pursuing opposite interests. On the one hand Rochester and his friends allowed no opportunity to escape them of diverting the king from his

⁹⁴ See Barillon, 1, 5, 26 Nov.; 17 Dec. Fox, App. 127, 130, 144. Though Barillon foretold that his friend Sunderland would be successful, yet Bonrepaus, the other French agent, was as confident of the triumph of Rochester. As late as March 28, 1686, he writes: "je n'ai pas une si grande idée du credit de myl. Sunderland, et je juge toujours qu'il y a plus de solidité dans la fortune de myl. Rochester."

favourite plans in behalf of the Roman catholics. CHAP. I.
 They conjured him not to alienate the affections 1685.
 of his people by the pursuit of measures repug-
 nant to their prepossessions and their feelings.
 Rather let him attach them to himself by enter-
 ing into treaties with foreign princes, for the
 purpose of establishing a balance of power in
 Europe, and of restraining within its ancient
 limits the overwhelming preponderance of France.
 This would raise him to a higher degree of im-
 portance and reputation than had fallen to the
 lot of any among his predecessors: this would
 restore harmony between him and his parliament;
 this would enable him to obtain from the grati-
 tude of his people much that he could not now
 accomplish without risk both to himself and the
 objects of his favour. On the other hand it was
 the study of Sunderland and the ultra catholics
 to watch and defeat the manœuvres of their
 opponents. They constantly reminded James,
 that if ever he suffered himself to be drawn into
 a war, from that moment he would become de-
 pendent on the good pleasure of his parliament.
 The present was a favourable opportunity of
 rescuing the catholics from oppression. If he
 listened to the advice of their enemies he would
 forfeit it, and probably for ever. On the con-
 trary, he had only to preserve peace abroad, and
 he might give the law at home; to keep himself
 from dependence on parliament, and the parlia-

CHAP. ment would at last fall into dependance upon
 I. him ⁹⁵.
 1685.

Respect-
 ing fo-
 reign
 treaties.

Much as James had set his heart on the relief of his catholic subjects, there were times when he seemed disposed to follow the opposite advice of Rochester, induced by his ambition of military fame, and his impatience under the superiority assumed by the French monarch ⁹⁶. Of this

⁹⁵ See Barillon's letters of Nov. 12 and 26, in Fox, App. 135, 143; and his unpublished letters of Nov. 22, Dec. 13, Feb. 7, and Feb. 25. "On n'omet aucun soin, aucun artifice pour engager le roi à tenir une conduite moins ferme.... Les catholiques sont partagés entr'eux. Les uns voudroient qu'on se servit de l'occasion présente.... les autres craignent l'avenir.... Ceux qui ont le plus de relations à la cour de Rome sont de cet avis.... si le roi étoit dans des intérêts opposés à ceux de la France, il auroit des cœurs du peuple, et de grands secours du parlement. Le danger de cet avis est connu des catholiques qui ont le plus de part à la confiance du roi.... Les jesuites sont joints à ceux-ci. Les autres attendent beaucoup des ministres du pape. Cependant, M. d'Adda est circonspect et réservé.... Le P. Piers jésuite est le plus autorisé. Myl. Arundel, myl. Tirconell, myl. Douvres consultent souvent avec myl. Sonderland. C'est par eux que les principales affaires se dirigent. Le grand trésorier se renferme dans la fonction de sa charge. Il est regardé comme le soutien de la religion protestante auprès du R. d'A.... Il se flatte de pouvoir se conserver dans le post où il est.... Myl. Sonderland va toujours son chemin, et suit aveuglement les volontés de son maitre. Le chancelier est entièrement réuni avec myl. Sonderland. Myl. Godolphin même paroît agir de concert avec eux, quoiqu'il ait beaucoup de circonspection. M. d'Adda craint qu'on n'en fasse trop, et cela lui est inspiré par l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, qu'il voit tous les jours...."

⁹⁶ "On le croit flatté de l'envie de tenir la balance dans les affaires de l'Europe, et d'être regardé comme le seul capable de

Louis himself was aware. From the first he CHAP. doubted the sincerity of the attachment which the I. English prince professed for him to Barillon, and 1685. — had not long to wait before this suspicion was fully confirmed. Within six months after his accession James concluded a treaty with the States General, which renewed the former treaties between the two powers, and in particular the defensive alliance of 1678. On the receipt of the intelligence Louis reprimanded the ambassador for his want of vigilance or of foresight; and instructed him to abstain, indeed, from noticing what was past—for it was beneath the dignity of a king of France to complain—but to watch with jealousy the subsequent proceedings of the English cabinet, to prevent by every means in his power the conclusion of similar treaties with other states, and to keep up a secret understanding with some members of parliament, who, in the event of an alliance between James and the enemies of France, might labour to embarrass and defeat the measures of government ⁹⁷. It happened that the very circumstance which alarmed Louis encouraged the Spanish ambassador to propose not only a renewal of the last treaty with Spain, but also of the triple alliance against France. All the agents of friendly

mettre des bornes à la puissance de votre majesté et à ses des-
seins." Barillon, 13 Dec.

⁹⁷ Barillon, 16, 19 Nov. Fox, App. 136.

CHAP. powers at the British court came forward to his
 I.
 1685. assistance; the adherents of the prince of Orange,
 — the mortal foe of Louis, added their endeavours;
 and Rochester with his dependents advised and
 entreated the king to assent. But Barillon was
 on the watch: against this formidable host he
 arrayed Sunderland and the ultra-catholics; and
 James, after some hesitation, declared his resolu-
 tion not to enter into any engagement which in
 its consequences might probably draw him into
 hostilities. Louis was not ungrateful on this
 occasion. He granted to Sunderland an annual
 pension of 60,000 livres (4,500*l.*): then on the
 representation of that wily statesman he con-
 sented to pay it half-yearly in advance; and after-
 wards on more than one occasion, he doubled the
 amount, to mark his sense of the distinguished
 services rendered him by the English minister ⁹⁸.

And the
 Countess
 of Dor-
 chester.

This was followed by a more mysterious in-
 trigue, in which, after a doubtful contest, Sunder-
 land again obtained the victory. Though James
 had sacrificed place and power to the profession
 of his religion, he was unwilling to sacrifice his
 pleasures to the observance of its precepts. To
 his favourite mistress, Arabella Churchill, he had
 substituted one of the maids of honour to the
 queen, Catherine Sedley, daughter of sir Charles
 Sedley of profligate memory. Of personal charms
 she was unable to boast: her power of captivating

⁹⁸ Barillon, 26 Nov.; 6 Dec.; 18 Feb.

her lover was owing to her wit and conversation ; CHAP.
 and the duke, though report assigned to him a I.
 successful rival in colonel Graham, the keeper of 1685.
 his privy purse, was willing to believe himself
 the father of her two children⁹⁹, settled on her
 an income of 2,000*l.* a-year from his private
 estate, and made her a present of a spacious
 mansion in St. James's-square. Soon after his
 accession the catholics remonstrated against the
 scandal given by this amour. Overcome by their
 entreaties, he consented to bid her an eternal
 farewell ; but at the same time, to appease her
 discontent, doubled her yearly allowance, and
 commissioned Graham to decorate her house, and
 furnish it at his expense. Sedley was aware of
 her empire over his heart : though he refused to
 see her, she kept possession of her apartment at
 Whitehall : after three months by accident or
 design they met at the lodgings at Chiffinch : the
 amour was renewed ; he visited her, at first clan-
 destinely, afterwards more openly, and at last put Jan. 21.
 into her hands a patent creating her countess of
 Dorchester. This was perhaps a spontaneous act

⁹⁹ One of them died young, the other, lady Catherine Darnley, was married to the earl of Anglesey, and afterwards to the duke of Buckingham. The mother herself married the earl of Portmore. When queen Mary, the daughter of James, after the revolution, turned her back on the countess, that lady exclaimed, " I beg your majesty to remember that if I broke one of the commandments with your father, you broke another against him. On that score we are both equal." Lord Dartmouth in notes to Burnet, iii. 114.

CHAP. on the part of the king, or might have been
 I.
 1686. wrung from him by the importunity of Sedley :
 ——— but at court both the friends and foes of Roches-
 ter attributed it to the policy of that statesman,
 who sought to place her in the situation occupied
 by the duchess of Portsmouth in the last reign,
 and persuaded himself that he should be able to
 govern the king through the influence of the
 mistress.

The king
 sends her
 to Ire-
 land.

Jan. 25.

The queen, Maria d'Esté, possessed not the
 mild and submissive temper of the consort of the
 late monarch. She upbraided her husband with
 his infidelity ; she declared that she would with-
 draw to a convent rather than witness her own
 degradation ; and it was remarked that on two
 successive days at dinner she neither ate, nor
 uttered a word to the king. Sunderland was at
 hand to inflame her jealousy, and point her
 resentment against Rochester : he called the
 principal catholics to her aid, representing to
 them that all their hopes of relief would vanish
 if they suffered a protestant mistress in the
 interest of their adversary to be established near
 the throne ; and he advised the queen to summon
 to her apartment himself, the lord chancellor,
 Mansuete, a capucin friar from Lorrain, who was
 the king's confessor, Petre the jesuit, with the
 most distinguished of the catholic clergymen, and
 all the catholic noblemen at court. When James
 entered to visit the queen, he was instantly assailed
 by their united remonstrances against an attach-

ment so injurious to his consort, so disgraceful to his religion, and so prejudicial to his own interest.

CHAP.
I.
1686.

He was surprised, abashed, and subdued. Having pledged his word to separate from Sedley for ever, he sent her an order to withdraw from Whitehall to her own house, and thence to France, or Flanders or Holland; but in the order itself he betrayed a consciousness of his own weakness, by acknowledging that he dared not trust himself so far as to communicate his resolution to her in person. Sedley treated both the messenger and his message with scorn; she was an Englishwoman, and would dwell where she pleased: if the king determined to remove her, he must do it by force; and in that case she would apply for a writ of habeas corpus and recover her liberty. James submitted to her caprice: a personal interview was granted, and in conclusion she consented to quit England, and fixed her residence on an estate in Ireland, a present to her from her lover¹⁰⁰.

Jan. 27.

Feb. 17.

Her departure was celebrated as a triumph by Sunderland, who had not only defeated the machinations of his competitor, but also rendered him an object of suspicion, if not of aversion, to the queen. On the other hand Rochester was not

She re-
turns.

¹⁰⁰ These particulars are selected from several letters of Barillon (22 Feb. 1685; 31 Jan.; 4, 7, 18, 28 Feb. 1686), who espoused the part of Sunderland, and from others of Bonrepaus (31 Jan.; 4, 7, 11 Feb.), who was friendly to Rochester. See also the Ellis Correspondence, i. 23, 35, 38, 42, 47, 58, 92; Reresby, 230; Evelyn, iii. 200; and Burnet, 113, 231.

CHAP. wanting to himself. He endeavoured by numerous protestations to convince her of his own innocence, and to lay the whole blame exclusively on the king¹. But in a short time the friendship or enmity of the queen became to these ministers a matter of small moment. It appeared that she possessed no political influence with her husband, unless it was at the time of their domestic bickerings, when, to mitigate her displeasure, he seemed to listen to her advice, and granted her requests. But the eclat of their late quarrel proved a lesson to them both. Sedley, indeed, returned after an exile of six months, and the king continued his visits to her as well as to other women: but he now laboured by every artifice in his power to conceal his amours from the eyes of others, and Mary had generally the good sense, even when she was apprized, still to appear ignorant of his misconduct².

An ambassador sent to Rome.

From these intrigues we may pass to the measures adopted by the king in favour of the catholics. On his accession he had sent Mr. Caryll, a gentleman of talents and fortune, to Rome, as an unavowed but confidential agent to

¹ There is, however, reason to suspect that he was not accused unjustly, from the valuable presents which he had previously made to her, and the great intimacy in which she afterwards lived with him and his brother. See Clarendon's diary for the year 1690; and Mr. Singer's note, p. 313.

² Barillon, 2, 5, 23 Sept. 1686. Bonrepaus, 4 Juin; 21 Juillet; 21 Août, 1686; and an anonymous *mémoire* in vol. 154 du *Ministère des Affaires Etrangères*, Supplement, 1687, 1688.

solicit the dignity of cardinal for Rinaldo d'Este, CHAP.
 the queen's uncle, and a mitre for Dr. Leyburn, 1.
 auditor to cardinal Howard. To the first request 1686.
 the pope, Innocent XI., though he did not return 1685.
 a positive refusal, thought proper to demur: but Sept. 9.
 Leyburn was invested with the episcopal character, and, on his arrival in London, received
 lodgings in Whitehall, with a yearly pension of Nov. 12.
 1,000*l.* out of the privy purse. He was followed
 by Count Ferdinando d'Adda, with the powers of
 papal nuncio, but without any public character.
 This agent had been instructed to respect the
 religious prepossessions of those among whom he
 was to sojourn, to exhort the king to temper his
 zeal with prudence and moderation, and to solicit
 his intercession with the French monarch in favour
 of the French protestants. It was previously
 known to James and his more zealous advisers
 that the pontiff disapproved of their ardour and
 precipitancy; but they laid the blame on the
 timidity of Caryll, and advised the appointment 1686.
 in his place of lord Castlemaine as royal ambas-
 sador: his public character would insure attention
 to his representations; and his past sufferings in
 consequence of Oates's plot would be a recom-
 mendation in his favour. There seemed some-
 thing ridiculous in the selection of the husband of
 the duchess of Cleveland for this mission to the
 pontiff, and it was with unfeigned reluctance that
 Castlemaine himself accepted the office. His
 instructions bound him to seek the advice of the

CHAP. general of the jesuits, and to live on terms of
 I. intimacy with the French ambassador; instruc-
 1686. tions ill calculated to beget the good-will of the
 Jan. 7. pontiff, who was no great friend to the "society,"
 and still less to France or the connections of
 France. The parade with which Castlemaine
 entered Rome, and the enthusiasm with which he
 was hailed by the Romans, might gratify the
 vanity, but the issue of his negotiation, as will be
 afterwards shown, disappointed the expectation, of
 his sovereign.

The king's
 dispens-
 ing power. At home the king pursued with ardour his
 Jan. 9. project in favour of the catholic officers in the
 army, and at first had the satisfaction to find him-
 self successful. Patents under the great seal were
 issued, discharging them from the penalties to
 which they were liable by the statute of the
 25th of Charles II. and enabling them to hold
 their commissions, "any clause in any act of par-
 liament notwithstanding." This kind of expe-
 dient had first been suggested to James in the
 reign of his brother by Herbert, chief justice of
 Chester, who waited on the duke on his return
 from Scotland, and informed him, that, if he
 sought to resume his office of lord high admiral,
 the test act could oppose no effectual bar to his
 desire, because it was in the power of the king to
 dispense with that statute. The opinion of
 Herbert was confirmed by that of Jeffreys after
 his elevation to the bench; and it is not impro-
 bable that such a dispensation was secretly

obtained by the duke before he entered on the duties of a privy counsellor and lord high admiral towards the close of the last reign³. He now asked for the opinions of the several judges separately and in private: those who doubted, he desired to argue the question with the lord chancellor; and the indocility of four was punished by their removal, and the vacancy filled by others, of more courtly principles or less scrupulous ambition⁴. The result was now certain, and Godden, coachman to sir Edward Hales, received instructions to bring an action for the penalty of 500*l.* to which his master was subject for holding the commission of a colonel in the army without having previously qualified according to the provisions of the test act. Hales pleaded a dispensation under the great seal: and the cause was heard in the court of king's bench before the same Herbert, now lord chief justice, and a lawyer whose upright and blameless conduct was calculated to give weight to his judicial decision. He openly professed to entertain no doubt: but the question was of the first importance; and before the court gave judgment, he would consult the rest of his brethren. Nine concurred with him in

CHAP.
I.
1686.

Which is
affirmed
by the
judge.

³ James (Memoirs), ii. 81.

⁴ On the first of January Barillon informed his court of this determination, adding: "il faudra que tous les juges conferment cette dispensation, autrement ils ne conserveront pas leurs places." The office of chief justice of the common pleas was worth 5000*l.* per annum. Barillon, 10 Jan.; 25 Fev.; 25 Avril; 2 Mai.

CHAP. opinion : of the two dissentients Powel, after some
 I. delay, came over to the majority, and the only
 1686. one who persisted was Street, a judge of a very
 June 21. indifferent reputation. Fortified in this manner
 Herbert delivered judgment in favour of the
 defendant, on the ground that the king of England
 was a sovereign prince, and that the laws were his
 laws, whence it followed that it was part of his
 prerogative to dispense with penal laws in parti-
 cular cases and upon necessary reasons, of which
 necessities and reasons he was the sole judge ; and
 that this was not a trust committed to him by the
 people, “ but the ancient remains of the sovereign
 prerogative which never yet was taken, nor can be
 taken from the kings of this realm ⁵.”

Abolished
 at the re-
 volution.

The decision of the court gave much dissatis-
 faction : but though it was severely censured, it
 does not appear to have been contrary to law, as
 the law at that period was generally understood.
 That it is subversive of the principle on which the
 legislative authority is established, cannot be
 denied : but the dispensing power had at all times
 been claimed and exercised by our kings ; and its
 existence was admitted by the lawyers, though
 they differed in opinion as to the limits within
 which it ought to be confined, a question the solu-
 tion of which depended on the judgment and

⁵ State Trials, xi. 1165—1199. The tract of sir Edward
 Herbert in support of his judgment, and the opposite treatises of
 sir Robert Atkins and Mr. Attwood follow in the same volume,
 1199—1315.

political bias of each individual. Had James been a protestant, or had the dispensation regarded any other matter than religion, it is possible that his power would not have been disputed : but men were alive to the danger which, it was said, threatened the established church ; they looked on the test act as its principal bulwark ; and when they found that this bulwark could be undermined by the dispensing power, they argued that such power ought no longer to be entrusted to the crown. James was not of a disposition to concede to these apprehensions. He exercised his claim without restraint ; and every repetition served to add to the dissatisfaction and alienation of his subjects, till the despair of obtaining redress from the good sense of the monarch urged them to place another prince on the throne. Yet even then, in the declaration of right, which the two houses made at the time when they tendered the crown to William and Mary, they did not absolutely deny the power of the sovereign to dispense with the law in particular cases, but in more cautious and qualified language asserted, “ that it was illegal, as it had been assumed and exercised of late.” The consideration, however, of what was past, induced them subsequently to provide for the future ; and the claim of the sovereign was very wisely abolished by the bill of rights which enacted, that “ after the then session of parliament no dispensation with any statute should be

CHAP. valid, except where the king is especially author-
 I. ised to dispense by act of parliament."
 1686.

Disobe-
 dience of
 the bishop
 of Lon-
 don.

Jan. 1.

The reader is aware that the first among the prelates, who ventured openly to join the standard of opposition in the house of lords, was Compton, uncle to the earl of Northampton, and formerly an officer in the army. He was soon made to feel the royal displeasure by his removal from the council and from the office of dean of the chapel, but was amply repaid for the loss by the general approbation of the people. His example excited a similar spirit among the clergy of the metropolis; and the pulpits were constantly supplied with preachers, who fiercely declaimed against the erroneous doctrines imputed to the church of Rome, and in warm language exhorted their hearers to a steadfast adherence to the reformed faith⁶. The king was surprised, perhaps alarmed: for the obvious tendency of their sermons was to infuse a jealousy of his designs, and to prepare the popular mind for resistance. He considered such discourses as inconsistent with the established doctrine of passive obedience, and contrary to the professions of attachment to his person, which had formed the burthen of the numerous addresses from the ecclesiastical bodies. Hitherto he had committed no positive act of aggression against

Evelyn, iii. 199. Reresby, 226, 232. Ellis Corresp. i. 3, 6. Barillon, 3 Janv.

the church : but from this time he seems to have argued, that the clergy by breaking their promises to him, had also released him from his engagements to them. In virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy he sent to the two archbishops certain directions for preachers, commanding them to lay aside questions of controversy, and to confine their discourses to subjects of moral divinity and of a holy life. Many complied : but many also refused, and gloried in a disobedience which obtained for them the applause of their hearers. The first who was visited with any mark of the king's displeasure, was Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, and rector of St. Giles's, who had preached a sermon animadverting in no very measured terms on the motives of the new converts to the church of Rome : but the bishop of London, instead of executing the royal order to suspend him from the office of preaching, was content with advising him to remain silent, till he had satisfied the king of the propriety of his conduct. This disobedience of the prelate led to the establishment of a new ecclesiastical commission. By the first of Elizabeth it had been enacted that the kings and queens of England should have full power to appoint persons to exercise for them their ecclesiastical authority, and to visit, redress, correct, and amend all errors, schisms, offences, contempts, and enormities which by any manner of ecclesiastical power could be lawfully redressed, corrected, and amended. It was, indeed, true

CHAP.

I.
1686.

March 15.

June 14.

June 18.

July 1.

New ecclesiastical commission.

CHAP. that by another statute of the 17th of Charles I.
 I.
 1686. ——— the clause granting that power was repealed, and
 all letters patent erecting new courts similar to
 the high commission court, and all powers and
 authorities granted thereby, were declared utterly
 void and of no effect. But this last act had also
 in its turn been repealed by the 13th of
 Charles II. c. 12, which, while it put down the
 high commission court with its *extraordinary*
 powers of imposing fines, committing to prison
 and tendering the oath ex-officio, preserved to the
 spiritual courts the exercise of their *ordinary*
 jurisdiction, and to the crown that of its *ordinary*
 supremacy. James, to whom it seemed incon-
 gruous that he, a member of the church of Rome,
 should inquire by virtue of the supremacy into
 ecclesiastical offences committed by members of
 the church of England, consulted the judges, and
 was by them advised to appoint a standing court
 of delegates with *ordinary* powers to hear and
 determine ecclesiastical causes, and to pronounce
 on offenders ecclesiastical censures. To this
 effect a commission in most ample form was
 July 14. given to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the
 bishops of Durham and Rochester, the lord
 chancellor, the lord treasurer, the president of
 the council, and the chief justice of the common
 pleas⁷, who (with the exception of the metro-

⁷ See it in History of King James's ecclesiastical commission, p. 2. Rapin tells us (xv. 74.) that several catholics were in the

politan) summoned the bishop of London before them to answer for his contempt in omitting to suspend Dr. Sharp. They refused to listen to his plea in bar of their jurisdiction; but allowed him sufficient time to prepare his answer. He alleged that to comply with the royal mandate by any judicial act was not in his power, because the offence had never come judicially before him, but that he had complied with it in substance by advising and inducing Sharp to abstain from preaching. If, however, he had, in the opinion of the commissioners, erred through mistake, he was ready to beg the king's pardon, and willing to make reparation for his fault.

The commissioners were divided in opinion. Rochester (and he was feebly seconded by Jeffreys) contended that it was but fair to allow the bishop time to do now, what he had been ordered to do at first: Sunderland and the bishop of Durham, that as delegates they ought to lay the whole matter before the king, and abide by his decision. But James had no compassion on the delinquent: it was to him, when duke of York, that Compton owed his nomination to the see of London, and yet that prelate had been the first to excite the jealousy of the clergy, and the alarm of the

CHAP.
I.
1686.

Aug. 3.

Aug. 31.

The bi-
shop is
suspend-
ed.

commission, an extraordinary mistake as may be seen in the instrument itself. Neither is it true that the commission was appointed in April, but not opened till August on account of the doubts entertained of its legality. The day on which the patent was sealed was July 14th. (Evelyn, iii. 213.)

CHAP. people to the prejudice of his benefactor. The
 I. king insisted that he should suffer in punishment
 1686. of his ingratitude: the commissioners suspended
 Sept. 6. him from the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction during the royal pleasure, and the administration of the diocese was entrusted to the three bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough. Sharp was also suspended, but restored on his submission. Compton's more warlike spirit refused to bend, and he remained in disgrace, deprived, indeed, of ecclesiastical authority, but invested with the honours of a martyr in the estimation of the people, who gave to his judges the title of the congregation de propaganda fide, transferred from Rome to London ⁸.

New dispensations.

Such were the principal events of the second year of the reign of James: but with them were intermixed several other occurrences of minor interest it is true, but strongly calculated, in the existing disposition of the public mind, to foment the jealousy of the people, and to diminish the popularity of the monarch. 1. About the be-

⁸ See the whole process in the State Trials, xi. 1156—1166, and the history of the ecclesiastical commission. Also Ellis Corresp. i. 160, and Barillon, 12, 19, 23 Sept. The archbishop would not act. He objected to the superior authority given to a layman, the chancellor, who was to be always present, and excused himself on account of his age and infirmities. James saw his true reason, and erased his name not only from the list of commissioners, but also of privy counsellors, saying that if he was too infirm for the first, he was equally so for the last. Barillon, 26 Août, 2 Oct.

ginning of the year several protestant clergymen
 professed themselves converts to the Roman
 catholic faith, among whom were Obadiah
 Walker, master of University College, Boyce,
 Dean, and Bernard, fellows of different colleges,
 and Selater, curate of Putney and Eshare.
 James hastened to grant them dispensations, by
 which they were empowered to enjoy the benefits
 of their respective situations without taking the
 oaths, or attending the established worship⁹;
 though at the same time he imposed on Selater
 the obligation of providing fit ministers to per-
 form his clerical duties according to the book of
 common prayer. In defence of his conduct James
 maintained that it was incumbent on him to see

CHAP.

I.
1686.

May 3.

May 5.

⁹ Soon after his accession the king had found in the closet and in the strong box of his brother, and in his hand-writing, two papers on the respective claims of the churches of England and Rome, and giving the preference to those of the latter. He shewed them at first as a favour to different individuals, to Barillon, to the archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he said, in a tone of triumph, that whenever they were refuted he would become a protestant (James, *Memoirs*, ii. 8), and to Pepys, to whom he also gave a copy (Evelyn, *Diary*, iii. 181; iv. 279). Evelyn (*ibid.*) and Burnet (ii. 47) did not think Charles capable of composing them, but Halifax (*Character of Charles II.*) saw no reason to question his being the author. The same inference must be drawn from the fact that according to Evelyn (*ibid.*) they were "blotted and interlined," and according to Barillon had been corrected in several places, "*comme s'il y avoit mis la main plus d'une fois*," 2 Avril, 1685. Of course the anecdote told by Macpherson, *Hist.* i. 422, must be confounded. In 1686 James permitted them to be printed. They may be seen in Harris, *Charles II.* p. 65.

CHAP. that no man should suffer because he had the
 1.
 1686. courage to follow the dictates of his conscience ;

— but even this shallow pretext was wanting with respect to another proselyte, Massey, fellow of Merton, whom the king appointed dean of Christ-church, giving him at the time of his appointment a similar dispensation. Whatever he might have thought of the other cases, this was so manifest a violation of the rights which he had promised and sworn to uphold, that it is difficult to conceive by what sophistry the misguided prince could justify it to his own satisfaction¹⁰.

Claude's
 book is
 burnt.

2. The condition of the French refugees continued to claim the public attention. A brief was read in all the churches for their relief, and several tracts were published to excite in their favour the commiseration of the people. Among these was the translation of a treatise in the French language, written by the celebrated minister Claude, and describing in vivid colours the inhumanity of Louis, and the wrongs of the sufferers¹¹. Barillon complained of it as a libel on his sovereign, and James declared his pleasure in the council that it should be burnt by the hand of the public executioner. Jeffreys objected that it was a foreign book, on

¹⁰ Gutch, Miscel. i. 287, 290, 294. Ellis Cor. i. 210. Barillon, 21 Mars. At Gloucester the new mayor refused the oaths in virtue of a similar dispensation. Id. 31 Oct.

¹¹ " Les plaintes des protestants cruellement persecutés dans le royaume de France."

foreign matters, and containing nothing against the peace of the realm : but the king replied that it was the common duty of sovereigns to protect

CHAP.

I.
1686.

each other from the pens of libellers ; the obnoxious pamphlet was ignominiously delivered to the flames ; and this treatment, while it added to the circulation of the book, excited considerable discontent in the people, and was taken as a sign that James approved in his heart of the persecuting measures pursued by the French monarch ^{May 5.} ^{12.}

3. Several catholic chapels were established, though the exercise of the catholic worship was still prohibited by law. A colony of Carmelite friars fixed itself in the city, a body of Franciscans in Lincoln's-inn-fields, a community of Benedictine monks at St. James's, and the jesuits opened a large school in the Savoy, which was frequented by protestants as well as catholics, on an understanding that the teachers should not interfere with the religious principles of their pupils ^{Catholic chapels opened.} ^{13.}

4. As these novelties were of a nature to beget irritation ; so they provoked, as was to be expected, occasional breaches of the peace on the part of the lower classes : but James had prepared an effectual check on the ebullition of popular resentment by the presence of an army

An army
on Hounslow-
heath.

¹² Barillon, 13 Mai. Before this letter reached Paris, Louis had written to the ambassador to abstain from noticing the book, " ces sortes de livres, perdant ordinairement leur crédit par le peu d'attention qu'on y fait." 17 Mai.

¹³ James, ii. 79, 80. Barillon, 29 Avril, 6 Mai.

- CHAP. consisting of twelve battalions of infantry, and
 I. thirty-five squadrons of cavalry, encamped on
 1686. Hounslow-heath. Recollecting his employment
 May 27. as general in the French service, he felt a pride
 in modelling his troops, and fatigued himself and
 them with repeated inspections and reviews. In
 the general opinion this army was the best paid,
 the best appointed, and the best disciplined in
 Europe. But at the same time rumour was busy
 in attributing the king's diligence to designs
 against the religion and liberties of his subjects.
 It was remarked that several of the officers were
 catholics; the piety of all good protestants was
 scandalized by the public celebration of mass in
 the tent of lord Dunbarton, the second in com-
 May 24. mand¹⁴: and in a short time a printed paper was
 circulated through the camp, calling on the men
 "to be valiant for the truth; not to yoke them-
 selves with bloody and idolatrous papists, and to
 refuse a service the object of which was to set up
 mass-houses, and to bring the nation under the
 tyranny of foreigners." That the publication was
 libellous and seditious, no one could deny: it was
 traced to Dr. Samuel Johnson, formerly chaplain
 to lord William Russell, and convicted in the last
 reign of having published "Julian the apostate,"
 a libel on the duke of York. For this second
 Nov. 16. offence he was tried at the bar of the king's bench,
 found guilty, and adjudged to stand thrice in the

¹⁴ Barillon, 6 Juin, 11 Juillet.

pillory, to be whipped from Tyburn to Newgate, and to pay a fine of 500 marks : but before his punishment, to save the honour of the clergy, he was solemnly degraded from the order of priesthood in the chapter-house of St. Paul's¹⁵. 5. The king was not content with empowering catholics to hold commissions in the army, or to retain their situations in the universities, he resolved to introduce them into the privy council, and, soon after the declaration of the judges in favour of the dispensing power, he ordered the lords Powis, Arundel, Belasyse, and Dover, to take their places at the board, without having previously qualified themselves according to law. It was, he maintained, a part of his prerogative to avail himself of the advice of any of his subjects, whatever might be their religious opinions : but the people, instead of admitting the claim, looked upon it as an open avowal of his intention to subvert the protestant establishment. He made at the same time another appointment, which, had it been known, would have added considerably to the public irritation. Of the catholics no one, whether it was owing to the merits of the individual or the arts of Sunderland, had obtained so high a place in his favour and confidence as father Petre. To him had been given the superintendence of the royal chapel ; he was lodged in the same apartments at Whitehall which James

CHAP.

I.
1686.Catholic
privy
counsel-
lor.

July 17.

¹⁵ State Trials, 1339—1350.

CHAP. had occupied when he was duke of York, and he
 I.
 1686. was named a privy counsellor at the same time

——— with the four peers. The catholics were instantly alarmed : they communicated their apprehensions to the queen ; and with the aid of her entreaties James was at length persuaded, not, indeed, to revoke the appointment, but to suspend its publication. In effect he waited only for the result of Castlemaine's negociation at Rome, and persuaded himself that when his friend was, as he expected he would be, invested with the episcopal character, less objection would be offered to his introduction into the council ¹⁶. 6. Petre repaid the services of Sunderland by the employment of his influence to effect the removal of Sunderland's competitor. The disapprobation, which Rochester constantly expressed in council of the measures taken by James, mortified the king : but his resentment was as often checked by the humble submission of that minister to the royal will after he had once delivered his opinion. The two intriguers adopted a new argument. They represented to James that he must never expect to carry the abolition of the test act in parliament, as long as the opposition was led by one of his

Disgrace
 of Ro-
 chester.

¹⁶ Ellis, Corresp. i. 149. James (Memoirs), 74, 77. Barillon, 22, 29 Juillet, 21 Nov. On these appointments he observes, " Le mécontentement est grand et général ; mais la crainte de s'exposer à de plus grands dangers retient tous ceux, qui ont quelque chose à perdre. Le roi d'A. témoigne ouvertement sa joie de se trouver en état de faire des coups hardis et d'autorité." 2 Juil.

own ministers, the highest in rank, and the first CHAP. in influence and patronage¹⁷. This the king ^{1.} 1686. admitted; but his reluctance to disgrace an old ——— and tried adherent suggested to him the hope of escaping from the difficulty by the conversion of Rochester to the Roman catholic faith. At his Nov. 12. request the earl conversed in private with Dr. Leyburn on two subjects, the real doctrine of the christian church during the first five centuries, and the necessity of an infallible authority in matters of faith: afterwards the question of the Nov. 30. real presence was debated before him and the king without any attendants, by the doctors Jane and Patrick on one side, and Leyburn and Godden on the other; and Rochester in conclusion observed that the disputants “had discoursed learnedly, and that he would attentively consider their arguments.” The king was disappointed; he complained to Barillon of the obstinacy and insincerity of the treasurer¹⁸; and Dec. 3. the latter received from the French envoy a very intelligible hint that the loss of office would result from his adhesion to his religious creed. He was, however, inflexible, and James, after a long Dec. 19. delay, communicated to him, but with considerable embarrassment and many tears, his final

¹⁷ Barillon, 23 Sept. ; 4, 18, 21 Nov.

¹⁸ Barillon, 12 Dec. ; 9 Janv. While James complained on one side of his obstinacy, the zealous protestants complained on the other, “that he remained so far in suspense as not to declare which side had the better.” *The True Patriot Vindicated*, p. 88.

CHAP. determination. He had hoped, he said, that
 I.
 1686. Rochester, by conforming to the church of Rome,
 ————— would have spared him the unpleasant task : but
 kings must sacrifice their feelings to their duty.
 That interest which *he* owned and supported, the
 earl opposed : it was necessary to put an end to
 such opposition. If time were required for deli-
 beration, he should have it : if not, he might still
 be assured that his past services would never be
 forgotten, and that he would always find in his
 sovereign a friend and protector for himself and
 his family. What answer was returned we know
 not : but its import may be collected from the
 1687. result. James abolished the office of lord high
 Jan. 3. treasurer, whose duties were entrusted to a board
 of commissioners, and the fallen minister received
 as a proof of the gratitude of the king lands to
 the yearly value of 1,700*l.* out of the forfeited
 estate of lord Grey, and an annuity of 4,000*l.* out
 of the private estate of James himself, to continue
 to him and his son for the term of ninety-nine
 years, but to determine on the death of the sur-
 vivor ¹⁹.

¹⁹ Barillon, 12 Dec. ; 2, 13, 20 Janv. James, ii. 100—102. Dodd, iii. 419. Clar. Corresp. ii. 62, 90, 91, 116. Evelyn, iii. 221. Ellis's Corresp. i. 212, 223, 228. The new commissioners of the treasury are thus described by Barillon: " Mylord Be-
 lassis est un homme de qualité qui a beaucoup souffert pour le
 roi d'A., et pour la religion catholique. Myl. Godolfin a déjà
 dirigé les finances, et y est estimé fort habile. Myl. Douvres a
 été attaché à S. M. B. depuis son enfance, et merite bien cet
 emploi ; il est riche et economie. Le chev. Erneley est un ancien

The disgrace of Rochester spread alarm among the friends of the established church. In him they had lost their most powerful support. But though they complained of the past and feared for the future, they did not yet suffer their discontent to goad them to acts of resistance. From the fate of the insurgents under Monmouth they had learned a salutary lesson, and deemed it more expedient to wait with patience for redress from a protestant successor, than to make the uncertain and hazardous experiment of an appeal to the passions and violence of the people.

Before we close the present chapter, it will be proper to pass in review the principal occurrences in the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland. J. In Scotland a violent dissension had broken out between the two chief officers of government, the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Perth, of whom the first was lord treasurer, the second chancellor and a recent proselyte to the catholic worship. Both appealed to the justice of the sovereign, who refused to decide between them, but gladly seized the opportunity of appointing for his representative at the approaching session of parliament the earl of Murray, a man unconnected with either of the parties, and possessing the entire confidence of the king. This appointment led to other arrangements. The treasury

CHAP.

I.
1686.Proceed-
ings in
Scotland.
1686.

Feb.

Feb. 26.

officier des finances, qui en sait la routine ; et le chev. Fox est immensément riche, et donne du crédit aux autres commissaires." Barillon, 13 Janv.

CHAP. was put in commission, by which the duke became
 I.
 1686. only the third person at the board ; the govern-
 ——— ment of the castle of Edinburgh was, with his
 apparent consent, transferred from him to the
 duke of Gordon ; and all that the waning influ-
 ence of Rochester could effect in favour of
 Queensberry, whose son had married Rochester's
 niece, was to make him president of the council
 with a salary of 1,000*l.* per annum. The real
 object of these changes was to facilitate in the
 Scottish parliament the repeal of the test act, as
 an example for the imitation of the English par-
 liament. The opposition of Queensberry, which
 the king had anticipated, was after his loss of
 office a matter of little consequence ; the duke of
 Hamilton had promised his co-operation and that
 of his numerous dependants ; and Mackenzie,
 lately created viscount Tarbet, pretended to show
 from the roll of the members, that there existed a
 large majority at the command of the court. But
 March 23. his assertion was disputed, and the measure itself
 was strongly opposed by the two archbishops ;
 April 10. and, after several consultations it was resolved
 that permission to exercise their respective forms
 of worship should be granted to the catholics, and
 the covenanters, but that the repeal or continua-
 tion of the test should be left to the discretion of
 parliament ²⁰.

²⁰ Barillon, 11 Mars ; 22, 29 Avril. Ellis Corresp. 46, 50, 53,
 56, 69, 72, 96, 112.

The session opened with a letter from the king, in which, having given due praise to the loyalty of the Scots, he stated his own attention to their interests, and his wish to extend their commerce, and add to their prosperity. He had instructed his commissioner to establish with their concurrence certain regulations for the opening of a free trade with England, and had sent down an act of amnesty to be passed in parliament, pardoning all rebellions and offences against the crown. In return he asked nothing for himself: the only boon which he expected, was some indulgence for his Roman catholic subjects, that they might enjoy, in common with others, the protection of the laws, without lying under obligations incompatible with their religious creed. The commissioner spoke in a similar strain: but both in his speech, and in the royal letter, all mention of the exact measure of relief was cautiously avoided²¹.

CHAP.
I.
1686.

The king's
letter.

April 29.

The number of the catholics in Scotland was so inconsiderable, that no danger could be feared from *them* in consequence of the toleration of their religion. But that jealousy of the king's designs, which prevailed in England, had penetrated into the neighbouring kingdom; and the protestant leaders in London, the Scottish refugees in Holland, and even the prince of Orange, through the secret agency of the pensionary

Formi-
dable op-
position.

²¹ James ii. 64—67. Wodrow, ii. 590.

CHAP. Fagel, made every effort to animate the Scots to
 I. resistance. The persuasion, that protestantism
 1686. — was in danger, rapidly diffused itself through the nation. The more religious could not be convinced that it was lawful to connive at the exercise of a religion, which they had been taught to believe idolatrous; and men, who for years had felt no sense of religion at all, were suddenly inspired with a holy impulse to put down the errors of popery together with the hopes of the papists²². From the support, which he had always given to the episcopal church of Scotland, James conceived himself entitled to its gratitude and services; but of the bishops, with the exception of Ross and Paterson, some were passive, others decidedly hostile; and of the clergy the greater part laboured to create by their discourse and their sermons the most decided opposition: while the presbyterians, their ancient adversaries, stood aloof, silent but not indifferent spectators of the contest. In the council, though an appearance of unanimity was preserved, a diversity of inclination existed—even Hamilton, notwithstanding his engagement, gave but a faint and qualified assent²³—and in parliament, accord-

²² "God," says Fountainhall, "raised up men to appear for the protestant interest, who were not very strict in any religion." State Trials, xi. 1175.

²³ "This excuse was made for duke Hamilton and the president's going alongst, that by staying in that party and giving them moderate counsels, they could do the protestant religion better service." Ibid. On the other hand the king did not believe

ing to the ancient policy of several families, if the father supported the court, the son placed himself in the ranks of its opponents. The patrons of the measure began to fear the result. To reduce the number of their adversaries, they ordered several military officers to rejoin their regiments; and to influence the minds of the timid, they removed other members from their situations under the government. But these proceedings added to the obstinacy of their opponents; and the predominant feeling in the house was sufficiently manifested by the guarded answer returned to the king's speech, that "they would take the case of the Roman catholics into their serious and dutiful consideration, and go as great lengths as their consciences would allow:" the first time, it was observed, that a Scottish parliament had talked of conscience since the restoration ²⁴.

At length the lords of the articles laid the draught of an act before the house. It provoked a long and animated debate, in which several of the speakers displayed the bitterness of their zeal in the most inflammatory language. "Our fathers," exclaimed a voice, "are reproached with having sold their king: let it not be our reproach that we have sold our God:" while another sounded in their ears the imprecations

CHAP.
I.
1686.

Prorogation.
May 27.

that Hamilton acted sincerely, and received a similar apology, qu'il n'a pas cru devoir hazarder son credit en s'opposant inutilement au torrent. Barillon, 27 Mai.

²⁴ Wodrow, ii. 591. App. 158.

CHAP. against the w—— of Babylon, from the book of
 I. Revelations²⁵. The draught was returned to the
 1686.

_____ lords of articles for amendment, and was reproduced in the following form: “that those of his majesty’s subjects who are of the Romish religion, are, and shall be, under the protection of his majesty’s government and laws for their private and civil interests; and shall not for the exercise of their religion in their private houses (all public worship being hereby excluded), incur the danger of sanguinary and other punishments contained in any acts of parliament made against the same.” By this form the benefit was restricted to persons at that time professing, not who might afterwards profess, the catholic religion: whether it would have passed with such a restriction is uncertain: June 15. but the king was already offended, and the commissioner received the royal command to prorogue the parliament²⁶.

The king
 dispenses
 with the
 test.

This sudden resolution did not proceed from any change of sentiment. James persisted in his design, but condemned himself of folly in having asked as a favour what he could have granted by his own authority. After an interval of a few Sept. 9. months he despatched a succession of letters to Sept. 14. the council, ordering them to extend the protec- Sept. 16. tion of government to his catholic as well as his Nov. 11.

²⁵ Barillon, 1 Juillet. Wodrow, ii. App. 161, “that they should eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.” Rev. xvii. 16.

²⁶ Wodrow, ii. 594. App. 160. Fountainhall, in State Trials, xi. 1170—1177.

protestant subjects, authorising the exercise of the catholic worship in private houses, and en-joining that certain individuals by name should be admitted to offices in the state, as well as the conformist clergy in general to livings in the church, without the obligation of taking the test²⁷.

CHAP.

I.
1686.

Nov 18.

After this preparatory step he ventured on the execution of the great measure, which he meditated. By two successive proclamations he declared his resolution that, as he would not force the conscience of any man himself, so he would not allow any man to force the consciences of others; his intention of preserving inviolate to the bishops and clergy of the established church of Scotland their churches, rights, and property, and to laymen the possession of all church and abbey lands which had been secularized at the reformation; his grant of full and free toleration to presbyterians, quakers, and catholics, so that they might exercise their respective worships in houses and chapels, but not in field-conventicles, for which there could be no longer any pretext; his suspension of the cruel and sanguinary statutes against catholics, which had been made during the minority and without the consent of his grandfather, by men in rebellion against queen Mary, their lawful sovereign, and which were in their provisions so abhorrent from the

Proclaims
liberty of
con-
science.

1687.

Feb. 12.
and
July 5.

²⁷ Fountainhall, 1177.

CHAP. principles of humanity that for years they had
 I.
 1686. not been carried into execution; and his design
 ————— of employing men in his service without respect
 of their religion, and in proportion to their
 merits and qualifications. That by this measure
 the king took upon himself to suspend for a time
 at least, the execution of numerous laws, cannot
 be denied: but that he might legally do it, seems
 to follow from the unlimited authority in eccle-
 siastical matters which the Scottish legislature
 had previously conferred on the sovereign ²⁸.

Its recep-
 tion in
 Scotland.

By the clergy of the episcopal church in Scot-
 land this declaration was viewed with feelings of
 abhorrence. It licensed in their opinion the
 existence of schism, and blasphemy, and idolatry.
 Nor did the presbyterians themselves, who would
 reap the benefits equally with the catholics, unite
 in approving it. The more rigorous deemed it a
 sin to have any communication with James
 Stuart, "an apostate, bigotted, excommunicated
 papist, under the malediction of the Mediator,
 yea, heir to the imprecation of his grandfather."
 They maintained that he could not exercise ^{*}regal
 authority, because he had not taken the oath
 required by law; and that the establishment of
 toleration was not within the power of the civil
 magistrate, because toleration was "inconsistent
 with the law of God, its object to set up tyranny,
 its tendency to unite the hearts of protestants

²⁸ State Tracts, ii. 285. Fountainhall, 1179, 1181.

with papists, as if the latter were neighbours, and by taking in bishops and quakers as well as papists, to legalize heresy and blasphemy no less than idolatry." But by the majority of the presbyterian ministers the boon was accepted with cheerfulness. It was no concern of theirs to inquire by what authority, or for what object it had been granted. To preach the gospel was their duty: hitherto they had been restrained by the strong hand of power: it would be extraordinary, indeed, if they were now to restrain themselves, when the obstacle was removed. Under this impression they met in Edinburgh, and subscribed an address to the king, expressive of their loyalty to his person, their gratitude for the indulgence, and their resolution to merit by their conduct the continuation of his favour²⁹.

CHAP.
I.
1687.

2. In Ireland the same causes of dissension, which had so long agitated that kingdom, were still in constant operation,—diversity of religion and opposition of interests. Of the two the latter proved the more dangerous and irritating evil³⁰. Where the Catholics formed the great majority of the population it was seldom safe, frequently impracticable, to execute the intolerant laws which inflicted penalties on the professors, death

State of
Ireland,

²⁹ Wodrow, ii. 624. App. 187, 192, 194, 195. Fountainhall, State Trials, x. 735; xi. 1179.

³⁰ "The contest here is not about religion, but between English and Irish, and that is the truth." Clarendon to Rochester, i, 559.

CHAP. on the ministers, of their religion : but the oppo-
I.
1687. sition between the English and Irish interests, as
— they were called, was continually kept alive by
the daily fears of one party, and the protracted
sufferings of the other. The English interest,
that is, the planters and adventurers from Eng-
land, who had obtained the lands of the natives
during a period of rebellion and anarchy, trembled
for their security, and lived in perpetual fear of a
reaction : and the Irish interest, the men of native
descent, among whom numbers had been reduced
to poverty for the enrichment of strangers, looked
forward to the time when the sufferers might
recover the possessions of their fathers by the
exclusion of these foreign intruders. The two
parties regarded each other as sworn enemies ;
they attributed to one another the most barbarous
counsels ; they suffered their passions to be blown
into a flame by the most improbable and un-
founded rumours ; and they watched each other
like two hostile armies, anxiously looking for
the first favourable opportunity of surprise
and victory. The duty of maintaining tranquil-
lity between them had for some years been pain-
fully but successfully exercised by the vigilance
and firmness of the duke of Ormond, the lord
lieutenant : nor was it till the last days of his
reign, when he had gained the ascendancy over
his opponents in England, that Charles took into
serious consideration the state of things in the
sister island. Here with the aid of the church

and its doctrine of passive obedience he had put down the men whom he considered enemies of the throne; but in Ireland he saw, or thought he saw, that almost all who exercised the civil or the military authority were republicans by principle, because they derived their wealth and importance from the conquests and regulations of the late commonwealth. It was resolved to remove them gradually from their situations, and to introduce into offices of trust and power natives of monarchical principles, and consequently in a great proportion catholics, who, as they would derive the benefit from the favour, would attach themselves through interest to the person, of the sovereign. At the same time he determined to entrust this delicate task to another lord lieutenant, whether it was suspected that Ormond would disapprove of the plan, or that an honourable retreat was required for Rochester, to shelter him from the unceasing attacks of his rivals in the ministry. The duke received notice that he would be recalled at the expiration of six months, and a new patent was made out for Rochester as his successor: but the death of Charles disturbed this arrangement; Rochester was raised to the office of lord treasurer, and on the departure of Ormond the reins of government fell into the hands of the archbishop of Armagh and lord Granard, with the title of lords justices³¹. James, however, did not lose

CHAP.
I.
1687.

1685.

³¹ Clar. Corresp. i. 96, 97, 98, 100, 104, 108, 112, 158.

CHAP. sight of the new system, which had been settled
 I. with his concurrence during the reign of his
 1688. brother. After the suppression of Monmouth's
 rebellion, he ordered the militia to be disbanded
 and disarmed in Ireland as well as in England ;
 an order which in the former kingdom created considerable alarm. There the militia consisted principally of the English planters, who alone had been allowed by law to carry arms, and who, when these were taken from them, considered themselves without defence against the enmity of the natives. Reports of intended massacres were immediately circulated, and numbers under the impulse of terror disposed of their property and quitted the island. But it soon appeared that the alarm was groundless, and that the regular army, amounting to eight thousand men, was unable to preserve the public tranquillity³².

Clarendon
 lord lieutenant.

Sunderland had been pointed out to James as a fit person to fill the office of chief governor of Ireland. But that wily statesman had no wish to be exiled from court, and to leave his competitor in the undisputed possession of power. His intrigues were successful : he even contrived to diminish the influence of Rochester in the cabinet, by procuring the appointment of Clarendon, Rochester's brother, to the office which he

³² Ibid. i. 158. In the "secret consults" it is said that "thousands" fled to England and five hundred to the plantations (p. 56). This amount is much overrated. Bonrepaus.

himself had declined³³. To Clarendon the king explained his intention with respect to the government of Ireland. 1. It was always to be borne in mind that Ireland was a conquered country, and that of course the English ascendancy and the act of settlement must be maintained. At the same time it would be for the lord lieutenant to devise some means of rewarding several of the native Irish, who had rendered important services to the crown, and had nevertheless been deprived of their patrimony. 2. The king was a catholic, most of the natives were catholics: it was his will that they should enjoy the free exercise of their worship, that civil disqualifications for religious opinions should cease, and that in Ireland catholics should be admitted to offices in the state, and to the freedom of corporations, equally with his protestant subjects. 3. It should be remembered that in the army were to be found many individuals of dangerous principles, whom it would be necessary to remove: and for that purpose he should reserve to himself, as his brother had done in the patent to lord Rochester, the power of granting military commissions³⁴.

With these instructions Clarendon took possession of his government. In a short time three catholic lawyers were raised to the bench; several catholics were named of the privy council; others,

CHAP.
I.
1685.

1686.

New arrangements.
Jan. 9.

³³ Barillon, 13 Sep. 1685.

³⁴ Clar. Corresp. i. 339, 461; ii. 25.

CHAP. as had been the custom before the rebellion, filled
 I.
 1686.

of the rents of two vacant bishoprics the sum of 2190*l.* was set aside to be distributed annually among the twelve catholic prelates³⁵. On all these points Clarendon, though he deeply condemned, faithfully executed, the orders of the sovereign: but the reform of the standing army

April 10. was entrusted to a more confidential agent, Richard Talbot, with whom the reader is already acquainted by the title of earl of Tyrconnel. He was descended from one of the first English settlers in Ireland, had entered at an early age into the service of James, and had merited by his fidelity to his master to be selected by Oates for one of his victims. By a timely flight to the continent he escaped from the fangs of the informer; and on his return was rewarded by the king with rank and office. Tyrconnel was brave and generous, and devoted to the person of his benefactor; but rash, impetuous, and confident.

June 5. To spare the feelings of the lord lieutenant James compelled him to receive his commission of lieutenant-general from Clarendon: but he executed his orders with a vigour, perhaps violence, which did not earn the approbation of the chief governor. Every officer suspected, whether justly or unjustly mattered not, of cherishing revolutionary principles, was cashiered; and,

³⁵ Ibid. i. 576; ii. 47.

under pretence of old age or deficient stature, every fourth man among the privates was discharged ³⁶. Of the first class many accepted the commissions offered them by the prince of Orange in the British regiments serving in Holland, and afterwards gratified their revenge by accompanying him in his subsequent expedition into England. The others carried their complaints into every part of Ireland; their discharge was attributed to a design of raising an army of catholics; the old alarm of a massacre was revived, and several families emigrated to England. But the king, and the lord lieutenant by his order, declared that the act of settlement should be religiously observed, and the panic in a short time subsided ³⁷.

Having reformed the army, Tyrconnel repaired to court, to claim the reward of his services. Clarendon was soon apprised of the lot which awaited him: from his official correspondence with Sunderland he foresaw that he could expect nothing but hostility from the secretary, whom he suspected of concealing his despatches from the knowledge of the sovereign; and it was plain that the intriguers who sought the fall of his brother would involve him in the same disgrace. At

Clarendon
superseded
by
Tyrconnel.

³⁶ Ibid. i. 342, 435. In the old army the catholics amounted to two thousand. The recruits were two thousand three hundred, of whom three hundred only were protestants. Ibid. 502, 514, 534, 575.

³⁷ Ibid. 380, 447, 464.

- CHAP. length Rochester was removed, and Clarendon
 I.
 1687. — received notice of his recal: but Tyrconnel, who
 Jan. 1. — aspired to the government of Ireland, met with an
 unexpected check to his ambition. The moderate
 catholics objected to his violence and temerity;
 the queen aided them with her influence; and the
 earl of Powis, the most wealthy but not the most
 able of the catholic counsellors, put himself for-
 ward as a competitor. But Sunderland and
 Petre, who had formerly pledged their word to
 Tyrconnel, religiously fulfilled their engagement,
 and with their aid he obtained the object of his
 wishes, not in the capacity of lord lieutenant, but
 March 10. with the inferior title of lord deputy. Powis,
 after the refusal of several other offices, was con-
 tent to accept the higher rank of marquess; and
 Clarendon, having resigned the privy seal to lord
 March 14. Arundel, received from the king a pension of
 2,000*l.* per annum ^{3*s.*}.
 Tyrcon- It had been given in charge to Tyrconnel to
 nel's real raise the Irish to a decided superiority over the
 objects. English "interest," to the end that Ireland might
 offer a secure asylum to James and his friends, if
 by any subsequent revolution he should be driven
 from the English throne: but the lord deputy
 had a further and more national object in view,
 to render his native country independent of Eng-
 land, if James should die without male issue, and

^{3*s.*} Clar. Corresp. ii. 10, 26, 68, 134. Barillon, Jan. 27; Fev. 13,
 20; Mars 20, 21. N. S.

the prince and princess of Orange should inherit the crown. For this purpose he employed the agency of Bonrepaus in England, and of Seignelay in France, to acquaint Louis XIV. with his intention, and to solicit his powerful aid. The French monarch, who looked on the prince of Orange as the most formidable of his enemies, received the overture with pleasure, and gave to Tyrconnel strong assurances of support: and it was mutually agreed that the project and all the subsequent proceedings should be carefully withheld not only from the knowledge of Sunderland, to whom it was said that Tyrconnel was bound to pay the yearly sum of 4000*l.* out of his emoluments, but also from that of Barillon, whose intimacy with Sunderland exposed him to the suspicion of betraying every secret to that minister³⁹.

CHAP.

I.
1687.

Aug. 25.

Sept. 29.

His proceedings.

In the prosecution of these views Tyrconnel turned his attention to the courts of law and the different corporations. On his arrival he found three catholics, in a short time he left but three protestants, on the bench; and in imitation of the proceedings in England, he obtained by promises, or intimidation, or writs of *quo warranto*, possession of most of the charters formerly granted to the cities and boroughs, and issued in their place others, which secured the nomination of members

³⁹ For this interesting fact we are indebted to the industry of Mazure, who discovered it in the despatches of Bonrepaus. Mazure, ii. 287. See note (C).

CHAP. of parliament in favour of the court. Conceiving
 I. himself sufficiently powerful to bear down all
 1688. ——— opposition, he solicited of the king permission to
 hold a parliament, in which, under the pretext of
 passing a supplementary act for the relief of the
 Irish claimants under the act of settlement, he
 might restore to the natives most of the property,
 of which they had been deprived during the sway
 April. of the commonwealth. Two of the judges,
 Nugent and Rice, explained the project to James,
 who had formerly listened to the representations
 of Tyrconnel on the same subject; but when he
 learned from his English counsellors the probable
 consequences of such an act in the dismember-
 ment of Ireland from the English crown ⁴⁰, he
 refused his assent, and seemed to lend a favour-
 able ear to those, who advised the removal of the
 lord deputy. Sunderland in his apology (but the
 reader will recollect that it was written after the
 revolution, and to mitigate the odium which he
 had incurred), claims the merit of having caused

⁴⁰ When this was first proposed by Tyrconnel, Barillon writes, "Le renversement de cet établissement fait en faveur des rebelles et des officiers de Cromwell est regardé ici comme ce qu'il y a de plus important, et s'il peut être exécuté sans opposition, ce sera une entière separation de l'Irlande d'avec l'Angleterre; c'est le sentiment général des Anglais." Barillon, 16 Oct. 1687. The pretext for it arose from this circumstance, that many of the Irish, who by the act of settlement ought to have been restored to their estates, as soon as the existing occupants could be reprimed, had never been restored in fact because the fund for reprisals was soon exhausted. Clar. Corresp. i. 560.

the failure of this project, and moreover of having rejected (what he was never known to have done on any other occasion) a bribe of 40,000*l.* offered by Tyrconnel. The public, however, gave the credit to the opposition of the lords Powis and Belaysye, the latter of whom was reported to have said that the lord deputy was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms⁴¹. This was the last transaction of importance with respect to the state of Ireland, at the time when the prince of Orange landed in England.

CHAP.
I.
1688.

⁴¹ Secret Consults, 119. This tract, which was written by a warm partisan of king William at the time in which James was in possession of Ireland, though often cited, is, from its frequent contradiction of more authentic documents, entitled to very little credit. It may show what reports circulated in Ireland, but cannot be assumed as authority for facts. Even Ralph, who was obliged to have recourse to it for facts, deemed himself authorised to desert it, and give to those facts "such a turn, as seemed to him best to tally with the characters of the persons spoken of, and the general state of things." i. 975.

CHAP. II.

JAMES II.

CLOSETINGS AND REMOVALS—LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE—CONTESTS WITH THE TWO UNIVERSITIES—THE NUNCIO—CASTLEMAINE—PETRE—CAUSES OF DISTRUST BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PRINCE—CONDUCT AND SECRET PREPARATIONS OF THE LATTER—INCREDULITY OF JAMES—BIRTH OF A PRINCE OF WALES—TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS—LOUIS DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE EMPIRE—ALARM OF THE KING—HE SEEKS TO CONCILIATE THE STATES—AND HIS OWN SUBJECTS—DECLARATION OF THE PRINCE—HE SAILS AND IS DRIVEN BACK—PREPARATIONS OF THE KING—DISGRACE OF SUNDERLAND—THE PRINCE SAILS, AND LANDS NEAR EXETER—DESERTION OF LORD CORNBURY—KING GOES TO THE ARMY AND RETURNS—MORE DESERTIONS—THE QUEEN AND HER SON ESCAPE TO FRANCE—THE KING IS INTERCEPTED AT FAVERSHAM—RETURNS TO LONDON—IS ORDERED TO QUIT BY THE PRINCE—ESCAPES FROM ROCHESTER—LANDS IN FRANCE.

CHAP. II. Two years had now elapsed since the accession
 1687. of James. His popularity was already gone ; the
 hopes, excited by his first speech, had been
 The "clo- blighted by his subsequent conduct ; and his
 setings." assumption of the dispensing power, joined to the
 reckless and irritating manner in which he exercised it, had taught the friends of the established

church to question their favourite doctrine of passive obedience. But the king, though aware of this change of public opinion, clung the more obstinately to his purpose; and to secure a majority in the next session of parliament, he resolved to exact from every public functionary the promise of his vote as the condition of his remaining in office. With this view he had recourse to private conferences, which obtained the denomination of "closetings." Of the men exposed to that ordeal there were many who professed their readiness to submit their own judgment to the superior wisdom of the sovereign: but there were also many who either boldly avowed their persuasion, that the test acts were passed for the security of the church, and therefore, if necessary under a protestant, must be still more necessary under a catholic, monarch; or sufficiently intimated their opinion, while with more courtly language they begged to be excused from answering, because they could form no judgment till the question had been debated in parliament. James was accustomed to reply that he sought nothing but freedom of conscience, the natural right of man, a right so evident that he would not insult their judgment by undertaking to prove it. But he would deny that the test acts were enacted for the preservation of the church—that was only the pretext—the real motives of those with whom they originated was to take from the throne the services of a body of

CHAP. men strongly devoted to its interests : but, even
 II.
 1687. were it otherwise, the catholics formed, and for a
 — long course of years must form, so small a minority among the people, that it was ridiculous to apprehend from them any danger to the established church. But what, he would ask, had been the consequence of penal laws on account of religion ? Instead of putting down the non-conformists, they had engendered jealousies, and heart-burnings, and persecution. Repeal them, and dissension would cease ; men of different sects would look on each other as brothers, and all would unite in furthering the prosperity of the kingdom. In conclusion he observed that he would never force any person's conscience ; men must act as they judged most fitting ; but they could not expect him to keep in employment those who would use the influence of office to oppose the measures which he deemed it his duty to pursue¹.

And removals
 from office.

This menace was put in execution : but in many instances it failed of success, and men seemed more desirous to obtain the honour of deprivation than to preserve the emoluments of office. The lords Shrewsbury, Lumley, and Newport, vice-admiral Herbert, and several others, cheerfully resigned their respective employments

¹ This account of the reasoning of the king, and of the answers of the closeted, is taken from Barillon, 17 Mars, 1687. See also the Ellis Correspondence, i. 235, 259, 265, 302.

and commands ; and the royal advisers, among whom from this period we are to number Penn, the celebrated quaker, seized the opportunity to wean the king from his notions in favour of the established church, and to turn his attention to the dissenters. From the churchmen, with all their pretensions to loyalty, it was now plain that he could expect no aid. They had already displayed, some an open, others a masked, hostility. But let him divest himself of his prejudices against other religionists ; let him win their services by employing his dispensing power in their favour ; let him establish by proclamation in England, as he had already done in Scotland, universal liberty of conscience. Every class of non-conformists would be eager to display their gratitude ; and interest, if not affection, would bind them to support the royal prerogative. He might then call a new parliament ; the friends of religious liberty would rally round the throne, and the repeal of every penal statute would be accomplished without difficulty.

Under this impression James addressed a short speech to the privy council. During the four last reigns, he said, law upon law had been passed to enforce uniformity of doctrine. But experience had shown the uselessness of such enactments. Under them dissent had increased : they had led in his father's time to the destruction of the government in church and state ; they had perpetuated to the present hour division in the

CHAP.
II.
1687.

Declara-
tion of
liberty of
con-
science.
March 18.

CHAP. nation, and all those evils which necessarily grow
 II. out of civil dissension. It was time to put an
 1687. end to such a state of things. Conscience could
 not be forced; persecution was incompatible with
 the doctrines of christianity; and it was there-
 fore his resolve to grant religious liberty to all
 April 4. his subjects. In a few days the royal procla-
 mation appeared. Though calculated to produce
 the same effect as the previous declaration in
 Scotland, it was expressed in very different lan-
 guage. As the English law did not recognize
 absolute power in the sovereign, nor give to the
 head of the church unlimited authority in eccle-
 siastical matters, he did not pretend to "cass,
 disannul, and remove," as he had done in his
 other kingdom, but was content "with suspend-
 ing the execution of all penal laws for religious
 offences, and with forbidding the imposition of
 religious oaths or tests as qualifications for office;"
 to which he subjoined an intimation, that he had
 no doubt of the concurrence of both houses of
 parliament in these two measures at their next
 meeting².

Addresses
 of thanks.

By the different bodies of non-conformists the
 boon was received with feelings of gratitude and
 exultation. They paused not to consider its
 legality, or to inquire whether the prince, who
 thus suspended at his pleasure the execution of
 one description of laws, might not on subsequent

² Gazette, 2231.

occasions with equal right set aside the execution of others. In the delirium of their joy they crowded round the throne to express their gratitude for the benefit of religious liberty. The example was shown by the anabaptists; the quakers followed; then the independents; next came the presbyterians; and after them the catholics, who were careful to attest their satisfaction that the benefit was extended to all christian sects without exception, and their pride that it had proceeded from a prince of their own communion. James received these addresses with self-gratulation. He boasted that he had made his subjects an united people, that he had changed those, whom persecution had before rendered the most bitter enemies, into firm and interested supporters, of the throne³.

But in all this there was much of delusion. If he had gained on one hand, he had lost on the other. The declaration confirmed the existing estrangement of the churchmen, who placed little reliance on his promise to preserve all the rights

Discontent of the churchmen.

³ Kennet, 463—465. Echard, 1084. Ellis Correspondence, 260, 269, 274, 285. Gazette, 2234, 2238, 2241, 2243, 2244. Barillon, 28 Avril; 12 Mai; 2 Juin. The quakers, that they might, without abandoning their principles, conform to the etiquette of the court, left their hats in Sunderland's office, so that they might of necessity be uncovered when they were introduced to the king. Barillon, 12 Mai. There were also addresses from the bishops and clergy of Chester, Durham, Lincoln, Lichfield and Coventry, and St. David's, and the chapter of the collegiate church of Rippon, but chiefly to thank the king for his promise of preserving the rights of the clergy.

CHAP. of the bishops and clergy, when they suspected
II. him of a design to raise his own church to a
1687. superiority over theirs. There was another circumstance which added to their alarm, a rapid and unexpected defection from the pale of the establishment: for numbers, who to avoid the penalties, had conformed to the legal form of worship, withdrew, as soon as it could be done with impunity, to attend those religious meetings which accorded better with their own sentiments⁴. In such circumstances they naturally sought to make allies of those whom they had formerly persecuted, and to infuse their own jealousies into other protestant societies. They maintained that James had no right to the merit which he claimed; that he was at heart an enemy to liberty of conscience; that his real object was to blind the eyes of protestants, till he had placed himself in a condition to oppress both churchmen and dissenters. They had before them the example of the king of France and the duke of Savoy. James would act like those princes. In a few years the assertor of religious freedom would throw off the mask, and confine liberty of worship to the professors of his own creed. He had a standing army ready to draw the sword at his nod: he claimed a right to suspend the exe-

⁴ See Evelyn's Diary, Ap. 10. "There was a wonderful course of people at the dissenters' meeting house in this parish, and the parish church (Deptford) left exceeding thin. What this will end in, God Almighty knows." iii. 228.

cution of the laws: where then could be the security for protestants whether they belonged or did not belong to the established church. These suggestions made impression: the feelings of gratitude were checked by doubts and apprehensions; and James himself, whether it was through the precipitancy of his zeal, or the credulity with which he listened to the counsels of others, contrived by his own conduct to confirm the charges and predictions of his enemies ⁵.

1. It was obviously the interest of a prince in his circumstances to abstain from every act which might be interpreted as an encroachment on the rights of the established church; and yet he seems to have chosen this very time to indulge in freaks of arbitrary power, which proved how little he cared for the immunities of the clerical bodies, and how much he despised their enmity and resentment. Some one had suggested to him that it would be highly beneficial, if a few catholics were admitted to reside in the universities on the same footing with protestants: the experiment had been tried in Germany with the most happy result; and those antipathies, which usually divide religious sects, had been insensibly softened down by the intercourse of social life. This was the avowed, but there was another more secret, motive, the hope of inducing men to profess themselves catholics, when they saw that

CHAP.
II.
1687.

Dispute
with the
university
of Cam-
bridge.

⁵ Echard, 1085. Barillon, 17 Avril, 12 Mai, 2 Juin, &c. Burnet, iii. 153.

CHAP. the honours of the university were equally
 II.
 1687. accessible to the members of both communions.

-
- Feb. 7. James sent a mandatory letter to Dr. Peachell, the vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, to admit to the degree of master of arts, without exacting from him the usual oaths, one Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, and catholic missionary in that neighbourhood. It was natural that the vice-chancellor should demur: he ascertained, though in an irregular manner, the sense of the senate, and a message was taken to Francis by the esquire-beadles, that his admission would be granted subject to the usual qualification.
- Feb. 24. A second mandate was sent similar to the first, and after a long delay a petition was returned to the king, representing the reasons on which the senate had proceeded. That degrees had been conferred without any oaths on the Mahommedan secretary to the ambassador of Morocco, on foreign gentlemen in the service of foreign envoys, and on natives of the rank of noblemen in the university, could not be denied: but it was contended that the case of Francis differed from all these: it was not with him a merely honorary distinction; his admission would open a gap through which men of all religious persuasions might find their way into the senate, and vote on matters highly interesting not only to that body, but to the established church. It was now no longer a question whether Francis should be admitted, but whether the royal authority should

be despised with impunity, and the unfortunate vice-chancellor was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission to answer for his disobedience. He pleaded in his favour the several statutes, and his duty of enforcing those statutes: the crown lawyers replied, that the university had not exacted the oaths in the case of Dr. Lightfoot, that there was no instance of the refusal to obey a mandatory letter from the king, and that it was not to be tolerated that a literary body should presume to deprive the crown of the dispensing power, which had been awarded to it by the decision of the judges. In conclusion Peachell was deprived of his office, and suspended during pleasure from the mastership of Magdalen college: and this judgment was followed by a sort of compromise, in consequence of which the university yielded so far as to elect a new vice-chancellor, and the king on his part suffered the pretensions of Francis to fall into oblivion⁶.

CHAP.

II.
1687.

April 21.

May 7.

⁶ State Trials, xi. 1315—1340. James, ii. 125—127. Barillon, 19 Mai. Hist. of Eccl. Commission, 25. Preparatory to the appearance of Peachell before the commissioners, was published from the king's press a dispensation granted to the universities by queen Elizabeth, permitting them, in opposition to the statute, to pray in Latin, "*statuto illo prædicto de usu publicarum precum in contrarium non obstante.*" Then followed certain queries. If the queen had the power to dispense with the law in a matter of such importance as the public worship in the university, had not the king power to dispense in so trifling a matter as the taking an oath by a single master of arts? If the university had no other justification of their conduct in the daily violation of the statute

CHAP. II. This dispute was yet pending, when James
 1687. found himself engaged in a still more irritating
 ——— contest with the university of Oxford. Dr.
 And with that of Oxford. Clarke, the president of Magdalen college, one of
 April 4. the richest foundations in Europe, died; and
 letters mandatory were despatched to the fellows,
 recommending Mr. Anthony Farmer to their
 choice for the vacant office. Farmer had not the
 qualifications required by the statutes: though
 an inmate, he was not a fellow, either of that
 college or of New college in the same university:
 neither was he distinguished by the extent of his
 learning, or the regularity of his morals: his sole
 title to the royal favour sprung from the adroit-
 ness with which he had insinuated himself into
 the good opinion of some among the king's
 advisers, as a man of loyal principles, and well
 disposed to the catholic interest. In Oxford it
 was immediately rumoured that he had conformed,
 or promised to conform, to the church of Rome:
 the fellows were exhorted not to place a papist at
 their head; and were told that to submit to the
 mandate would be to betray the rights of the
 college and the interests of religion. At length
 they subscribed a petition stating the ineligibility
 of Farmer, and praying that they might either
 proceed to a free election, or receive a different
 recommendation from the king. Had this paper

but the queen's dispensation, how could they justify themselves
 in their resistance to the king's dispensation? See it in Ralph,
 959, note.

been delivered to James, it might perhaps have spared him the mortification which followed; but Sunderland, having kept it four days, returned for answer that the royal will must be obeyed⁷.

The fellows met for the purpose of election, and

Mr. Hough, one of their number, obtaining the plurality of suffrages, was admitted president by the ordinary visitor, the bishop of Winchester.

Both parties immediately appealed to the king.

The fellows pleaded that their proceedings had been in strict accordance with the statutes and their oaths: the patrons of Farmer, that they had added insult to contumacy; they had not only disobeyed the mandate, but had solicited the king to name another person, and then, without waiting for that nomination, had chosen a president themselves. By James the case was re-

ferred to the ecclesiastical commission, which after several hearings declared Hough's election void, because a mandate to choose one person implied a prohibition of choosing any other, but advised the king to desist from the nomination of Farmer on account of the doubts which had been thrown on his moral character.

A pause of six weeks ensued. Hough, in

Dr. Parker, president of Magdalen college.

⁷ If Dr. Thomas Smith's account of the proceedings deserve credit, it is plain that the petition was not in the first place presented to the king, but given to Sunderland for presentation; and there is moreover reason to believe that the king knew nothing of the petition, till after Dr. Hough's election. Macph. papers, i. 274; and State Trials, xii. 54, 55, 69.

CHAP. defiance of the judgment pronounced against him,
 II.
 1687. continued to exercise the office of president, and

James sought the most eligible means of conciliating the fellows without compromising his authority. At length he sent a mandate for a new election, recommending at the same time for their choice Dr. Parker, bishop of Oxford; but his imprudence had now evoked a spirit of resistance too fierce and obstinate to be laid by the terrors of the prerogative; and Parker himself was obnoxious as a prelate of courtly principles and suspected orthodoxy. The fellows replied that they could not obey: the office was not vacant; Dr. Hough stood in actual and legal possession. Thus the contest was renewed, and the members of a small literary society placed themselves in hostile array against the power of the sovereign. They depended on what they considered the righteousness of their cause, and were cheered by the assurance that they had with them the good wishes of the university and of the church of England. James, on the other hand, looked upon them as men who sought to invade his just rights, as apostates from the doctrine of passive obedience, which they had sanctioned by their celebrated decree, issued but four years before, and as the tools of his secret and designing enemies, whose object it was to breed an open division between him and the churchmen. Pride forbade him to yield: when, in his summer progress, he came to Oxford, he received the

deputations from the other colleges with many gracious expressions: but at the sight of the contumacious fellows he was unable to control his anger; he addressed them with an asperity of language, and marks of indignation ill-befitting a king; and when on their knees they offered him their petition, bade them begone, he would receive nothing from them till they had obeyed his mandate, and admitted the bishop for their president.

The fellows had borne unmoved the frowns of the sovereign; they had equally resisted the prudential arguments of Penn and of others calling themselves their friends; they were now summoned before the bishop of Chester, Wright, chief justice of the King's Bench, and Jenner, a baron of the Exchequer, members of the ecclesiastical commission, and extraordinary visitors of the college. The first measure of these judges was to annul the election of Dr. Hough, who in return addressed them in these words: "My lords, I do hereby protest against all your proceedings, and against all that you have done or shall do, in prejudice of me and of my right, as illegal, unjust, and null: and therefore I appeal to my sovereign lord the king in his courts of justice." The spectators expressed their approbation by applause: but the court proceeded to instal the bishop of Oxford by his proxy, to whom they gave by force possession of the president's lodgings. With this advantage the king

CHAP.
II.
1687.

Sept. 4.

Expulsion
of the fel-
lows.

Oct. 21.

Oct. 22.

CHAP. would gladly have been satisfied ; for he had long
 11.
 1687. wished to extricate himself from a quarrel, which
 ————— he felt as a degradation, and in which his claim
 had been privately pronounced illegal by the
 chief justice Herbert ^s. But the intractable
 spirit of the fellows still revolted : though they
 had been induced to make a qualified promise of
 obedience “ as far as was lawful and agreeable to
 Oct. 25. the statutes,” they revoked their word the next
 Nov. 16. day : a new form of submission was offered but
 Dec. 10. refused, and five-and-twenty were not only de-
 prived by the visitors, but declared incapable
 with Dr. Hough of holding ecclesiastical prefer-
 ment, or, if laymen, of being admitted to holy
 orders. Thus after a war of nine months the
 king remained master of the field : his opponents
 were disseised of their freeholds ; fourteen of the
 demies, who imitated their contumacy, shared
 their punishment ; and the college, in virtue of
 successive letters mandatory, was repeopled with
 new men, a motley colony taken from the pro-
 fessors of both religions. It was, however, a
 victory of which he had no reason to be proud ;
 for it betrayed the hollowness of his pretensions
 to good faith and sincerity, and earned him the

^s “ I utterly denied that dispensation to be of any force at all, because there was a particular right and interest vested in the members of that college, as there is in the members of many other corporations, of choosing their own head.” State Trials, xi. 1263.

enmity of the great body of the clergy, and of all who were devoted to the interests of the church⁹.

CHAP.
II.
1687.

At the very commencement of these contests with the universities, the moderate catholics at court attempted to oppose to the mischievous counsels of Petre and Sunderland the prudence and influence of Mansuete, the king's confessor, a franciscan friar from Lorrain. But the struggle quickly ended in the total discomfiture of the assailants: their champion was sent back to his native country with the character of a good man, but unequal to so important an office; and his place was supplied by father Warner, rector of the college at St. Omer¹⁰. This, however, was not the only mortification which awaited the moderate party. Hitherto they had prevailed (and their advice had been approved by the court of Rome), that d'Adda should execute his commission of nuncio to the king without the public assumption of that character. But James was taught to believe that the incognito which d'Adda

The nuncio publicly received at court.

⁹ James, ii. 119—124. Kennet, 475—481. Burnet, iii. 143—150, and notes. History of Ecclesiastical Commission, 30—52; and the collection of documents in State Trials, xii. 1—112.

¹⁰ Barillon, 3, 16 Mars; 3 Avril. Ellis Corresp. i. 68, 155. Sir John Warner, of Parham, in Suffolk, bart., together with his lady, embraced the catholic faith in 1664, and in 1667 on the same day he entered the order of the jesuits, she that of the poor Clares at Gravelines. He was provincial of his order, then rector of St. Omer, and afterwards confessor to James II., whom he followed to St. Germain's. He died there in 1692, having been appointed provincial a second time.

- CHAP. preserved reflected disgrace on himself, as if he
 II.
 1687. were ashamed to acknowledge his correspondence
 — with the head of his church, or had not the
 power to protect from insult the envoy of a
 sovereign prince unacceptable to the religious pre-
 judices of his subjects. At the earnest solicitation
 May 1. of the king, Innocent gave his consent: the
 nuncio, to add to his importance, was consecrated
 archbishop of Amasia by the titular primate of
 Ireland in the chapel at Whitehall, and a day was
 fixed for his public reception at court in his official
 character. The duty of introducing him was
 assigned by James to the duke of Somerset, first
 lord of the bed-chamber. But that nobleman
 objected the penalty to which he should be
 exposed; and when the king offered him a par-
 don, replied that a pardon, promised before the
 offence was committed, would not be held valid
 in a court of law. “I would have you,” said
 James, “fear me as well as the law.” “I cannot
 fear you,” was the answer of the duke, “as long
 as I commit no offence. I am secure in your
 majesty’s justice.” Two days were allowed him
 to consider: at the conclusion the young duke of
 July 3. Grafton conducted the nuncio to Windsor in the
 royal carriage, and presented him to the king and
 queen. Somerset lost his place and his regiment
 of the guards. Hitherto he had incurred ridicule
 by his habits of vanity and arrogance, and was
 usually known by the appellation of the proud
 duke; but his spirited conduct on this occasion

atoned for his past follies, and his disgrace invested him with honour in the estimation of the people¹¹.

CHAP.
II.
1687.

If the king hoped by the respect which he paid to the nuncio to conciliate the mind of the pontiff, it was not long before he was undeceived. At his prayer the purple had already been given to the queen's uncle, but no solicitation could prevail on the pope to dispense with the rules of the order, and raise father Petre to the episcopal dignity. Castlemaine's patience was exhausted. He complained in bitter terms that to him and the marshal d'Humieres, the envoys of the two catholic kings of England and France, no countenance was shown at the apostolic see, and he bluntly declared, that unless he had reason to expect a change of measures, he would immediately quit the papal court. Innocent was content with this laconic reply—"Lei e padrone;" but he ordered the nuncio to demand satisfaction from the king for the insult offered to him by the ambassador. James, though he attributed the warmth of Castlemaine to exuberance of zeal, recalled him to England, and, in reward of his services, gave him a place in the council: but instead of entrusting his interests at Rome to the cardinal of Norfolk, committed them to the care

Petre introduced into the council.

June 26.

Sept. 25.

¹¹ Barillon, 12 Mai; 14 Juil. Bonrepaus, 14 Juil. James, ii. 116—218. Lonsdale, 24. Ellis Correspondence, i. 272, 312.

- CHAP. of Rinaldo d'Este¹², renewing at the same time
 II. his solicitations in behalf of Petre, not indeed
 1687. — for the mitre, which had been refused, but for
 the higher dignity of cardinal, which had occa-
 sionally been conferred on members of the so-
 ciety. But Innocent was inexorable; and James
 hastened to fulfil of his own authority his inten-
 tions in favour of his friend. The moderate
 party had persuaded themselves that the appoint-
 ment of Petre as a privy counsellor had been
 suspended in consequence of their representa-
 tions; the fact was, that the king only waited to
 obtain the mitre or the hat for the jesuit, that he
 might appear with greater importance at the
 board. Wearied out with the reluctance or pro-
 crastination of the pontiff, he named Petre clerk
 of the closet; the next Sunday the new dignitary
 appeared in the chapel at Whitehall, not in the
 usual habit of his order, but in that of a secular
 priest; and a few days later he seated himself
 Nov. 6. among the privy counsellors by command of the
 Nov. 11. sovereign. It is difficult to describe the astonish-

¹² Ceux, qui y ont travaillé, ont eu pour motif de décréditer le cardinal de Norfolk, que l'on croit n'avoir pas agi comme il devoit pour le P. Piters. Il y avoit une cabale de quelques catholiques ici, qui avoient eu dessein de faire venir ici le cardinal de Norfolk: mais le projet a été renversé. Ceux qui sont liés avec le P. Piters et le P. Warner, confesseur, ont détourné le voyage du cardinal de Norfolk comme inutile, et ne pouvant produire que la division entre les catholiques qui ne sont pas déjà trop unis. Barillon, 3 Nov.

ment, the vexation, with which this appointment was beheld by the great body of the people. The enemies of James secretly hailed it as an event most favourable to their wishes: by the catholics it was deplored as a common calamity. To prevent their remonstrances, the design had been concealed from their knowledge, and now that the appointment had taken place, it only remained for them to bewail the infatuation of the monarch, and to await in despair the revolution which he was preparing by his imprudence. James himself in his cooler moments could adduce nothing better in defence of his conduct than that "he was bewitched by the artifices of Sunderland"¹³.

That nobleman had not yet lost sight of the treasurer's staff, the original object of his ambition. In May he had become a pretended convert to the church of Rome, having made his abjuration in the hands of father Petre¹⁴. The fact for reasons of state was kept secret: but it confirmed the confidence of the king in the attach-

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1687.

The treasurer's staff refused to Sunderland.

¹³ James (Memoirs), ii. 77. Burnet, iii. 158. Wellwood, 158—160. Barillon, 15, 26 Mai; 23 Juin; 6 Oct. 17, 24, 27 Nov. Dodd, iii. 511, 533. In the gazette announcing the appointment he is called "the honourable and reverend father Edward Petre, clerk of the closet to his majesty." Gazette, 2294.

¹⁴ Barillon, 8 Juil. 1688. His eldest son, lord Spenser, a young man of profligate habits, had been dangerously wounded in a duel, and professed himself a catholic about the same time. "Cela est regardé comme une chose concertée entre myl. Sunderland et lui. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'il profitera auprès du roi son maitre de la conversion de son fils." Barillon, 24 Mai; 2 Juin.

CHAP. ment and fidelity of the proselyte. The intro-
 II. duction of Petre into the council had been pre-
 1687. ceded by that of sir Nicholas Butler, an Irish
 Oct. 17. catholic, and dependent of Sunderland; and it
 Dec. was soon evident that these three, Sunderland,
 Petre, and Butler, monopolized the direction of
 public affairs¹⁵. About Christmas the attempt,
 which had been so long in agitation, was made.
 Petre and Butler represented to James the neces-
 sity of appointing a lord high treasurer, and the
 fitness of the lord president for that office. But
 the king was inflexible: he replied in conformity
 with his first declaration that he would never
 confer an employment of such extensive influence
 on any subject. Sunderland ventured to solicit
 the interference of the queen; but her answer
 was so decisive and discouraging, that he saw the
 prudence of desisting from a suit, which, if it

¹⁵ This is represented by Barillon as “une grande augmenta-
 tion de credit pour myl. Sonderland, de qui les deux autres sont
 en quelque façon dependants, et ne sont pas informés des affaires
 au point qu’il est.” Barillon, 18 Dec. But Bonrepaus, the other
 French envoy, entertained a very different notion. “Le roi con-
 noit bien le caractère de M. Sonderland, qui est ambitieux et
 capable de tout sacrifier à son ambition; et quoiqu’il n’ait pas
 une grande confiance en lui, il s’en sert, parcequ’il est plus dévoué
 qu’un autre, et qu’il s’abandonne absolument à suivre tous les
 sentimens de son maître pour l’établissement de la religion catho-
 lique....ce qui paroît au public de la faveur de M. Sonderland
 n’empêche point qu’il ne soit dans une grande dépendance du père
 Piter, qui seul a l’entière confiance du roi....Il fera chasser
 M. Sonderland dès que l’envie lui en prendra, ne manquant point
 de prétexte pour cela.” Bonrepaus, 4 Juin.

were urged with pertinacity, would probably lead to his disgrace ¹⁶. CHAP.
II.
1687.

While the king was occupied with these petty contests and intrigues, he did not lose sight of the great object of his ambition. To proclaim liberty of conscience was but a preparatory step: he saw that it required something more than a royal proclamation to give stability to the benefit. The dispensing power, on which its existence rested, afforded only a frail and precarious support, which circumstances might compel him to withdraw, and which at all events would fail at his decease: and to procure the sanction of the legislature in its favour, as long as the present house of commons continued in being, appeared a hopeless and dangerous attempt. After much hesitation he dissolved the parliament, and determined to trust to his own endeavours, and the co-operation of the dissenters, to obtain at the next elections the return of members better disposed to concur in the measure. With this view, Dissolu-
tion of
parlia-
ment.

July 2.

Aug. 16.

1. he commenced a progress during the summer, from London to Bath, and continued it from Bath to Chester ¹⁷, visiting the most populous towns, in which he was received with acclamations, and calling around him the resident gentry, whom he sought to conciliate by affa- The king's
progress.

¹⁶ James (Memoirs), ii. 132. Lonsdale, 25.

¹⁷ At Chester Penn and Barclay preached in favour of the declaration, and some of the courtiers bathed at Holywell. Barillon, 16, 20 Sept.

CHAP. bility, and to convince by argument. He assured
 II. them that he cherished no hostility against the
 1687. established church: and that, if he wished to
 abolish the test, it was because he considered it
 an unjust and barbarous enactment, which had
 failed of its principal object, his exclusion from
 the crown, and which he was therefore bound to
 prevent from inflicting on others the penalties,
 that had been devised against himself. It could
 not be a necessary safeguard for the church, since
 the church had so long existed without it: nor
 would its repeal affect the constitution of the
 house of commons since catholics would still
 remain, as they had been for a century before,
 excluded from that house: and certainly, as long
 as one branch of the legislature, the lords, con-
 sisted principally, and another, the commons,
 totally of protestants, *he* must be an unreasonable
 man, who could entertain any fear for the safety
 of the protestant religion. James was of a san-
 guine disposition. As he had mistaken the par-
 tial acclamations of the dissenters, for the voice
 of the whole population; so he mistook the
 respectful silence with which men listened to his
 reasoning, for a sufficient proof of their assent.
 His ministers were more sagacious: they saw
 how deeply rooted was the public distrust of his
 measures, but were careful to conceal their appre-
 hensions from the knowledge of their sovereign ¹⁸.

¹⁸ “ Le roi croit que son voyage lui a servi à ramener les esprits
 et que les peuples ont été détrompés de beaucoup de faussetés.”

2. At the same the “ regulators,” a board CHAP.
 established under the pretext of reforming the II.
 abuses in corporations, received orders to mould 1687.
 these bodies in conformity with the views of the
 court; and instructions were given to the lord
 lieutenants of the several counties, 1. to make
 out lists of persons devoted to the cause, and on
 that account fit to be appointed mayors and
 sheriffs, that the returning officers might be in
 the interest of the crown; and 2. to assemble
 their deputies and the magistracy, and to put to
 each individual the three following questions: if
 you are chosen to the next parliament, will you
 vote for the repeal of the test act and of the
 penal laws? will you give your aid to those
 candidates who engage to vote for that repeal?
 will you support the declaration for liberty of
 conscience by living peaceably and like good
 christians with men of different religious prin-
 ciples? The king’s object could not be doubted, Dec. 11.
 and the Gazette was careful to intimate, that
 continuance in office would be made to depend on
 the answers which should be returned. Many
 replied in the affirmative: but most availed them-
 selves of a printed form which was circulated
 through the country for their adoption; that

Barillon, 20, 29 Sept. “ Le roi d’Angleterre est fort gai, et croit
 que toutes ses affaires vont bien. Ses ministres ne le contredisent
 point dans ses pensées: mais je pénétre clairement que M^l.
 Sonderland n’est pas sans quelque trouble intérieur.” Bonrepaus,
 9 Oct.

CHAP. they could not engage their votes on any particular question, till its merits had been debated
 II.
 1687. — in parliament, that they would support such candidates as possessed the necessary qualifications, and that they sought to live in peace with all men, unless his majesty's interest and the government established by law required the contrary. Though from these replies James learned the unwelcome truth, that his favourite measure was displeasing to a great majority among the higher classes of his subjects; yet he could not prevail on himself to desist from his pursuit, and only postponed the calling of a parliament to some future and more favourable opportunity ¹⁹.

Conduct
 of the
 prince of
 Orange.

Before we proceed to the fourth and last year of this inauspicious reign, it will be proper to call the attention of the reader to the numerous causes of irritation and estrangement, which previously existed between the king, and his nephew and son-in-law the prince of Orange. William's advocacy of the bill of exclusion, and his reception of Monmouth during the life of Charles, were offences not easily forgotten: and the reconciliation which he sought and obtained on the death of that monarch, was soon afterwards shaken by his strange and ambiguous conduct in relation to the expeditions under the earl of Argyle and the duke of Monmouth. From all

¹⁹ Gazette, 223. Lonsdale, 15, 16, 19. Reresby, 251. Dalrymple, 223. Kennet, 469, 470. Bonrepaus, 4 Dec. Burnet, iii. 183.

the circumstances it is plain that, if at first he knew not of the design, it was because he preferred to be ignorant ; and that, if his orders to prevent their departure were subsequently disregarded, it was because he did not mean them to be obeyed. James, however, deemed it prudent to dissemble. The plea of ignorance, advanced by the prince, was accepted though not believed ; and his offer of coming and fighting in person against the usurper was declined, under the pretence that his presence at the Hague was necessary to prevent the transmission of succour to the enemy. The victory of the king at Sedgemoor put an end to this uncertainty. William tendered his congratulations to his uncle ; James returned a gracious and affectionate answer ; and an active correspondence was established, in which these near relatives endeavoured to disguise their mistrust of each other under expressions of the warmest attachment ²⁰.

There existed two parties, who deemed it equally their interest to prevent any cordial union between the uncle and nephew. The French king, aware of the inextinguishable hostility of William, ordered his ambassador d'Avaux to watch with care the conduct of the prince : and by that minister every circumstance, which admitted of an unfavourable interpretation, was communicated to

CHAP.
II.
1687.

Causes of
distrust
between
him and
James.

²⁰ James (Memoirs), ii. 26. Dalrymple, 123, 124, 126, 131. Fox, App. 81. Clar. Corresp. 124, 125, 127, 130.

CHAP. Barillon in London, whose office it was to repre-

II.
1687.

— such comments, as he thought most likely to awaken suspicion in the royal breast. On the other hand the British exiles in Holland, together with the discontented in England; while they inflamed the ambition of William with the prospect of the English crown, were careful to alarm his jealousy by attributing to the king designs against the hereditary rights of his wife. To enumerate all the causes of dissension, discovered or created by these advisers, would tire the patience of the reader: the principal may be arranged under the following heads. 1. Holland was become the common refuge of all, who during the last or present reign had fled from prosecution on account of political offences. There they assembled to talk over their real or supposed wrongs, arranged plans for the annoyance of the government in England, and formed connexions with men of similar sentiments in their native country. That James should demand their removal, was natural: he sought not, he said, to deprive them of an asylum, but to cut off their facility of communication with England, by compelling them to reside at a distance from the sea coast. He complained to the States, but his complaints, through the influence of the prince, were disregarded: he remonstrated in stronger terms, and was answered that the delay arose from the number of authorities to be consulted, and the

1. The reception of the exiles.

slow form of proceedings in the States : at length he had recourse to intimidation. It was observed that he suddenly turned his attention from the army to the navy : that a great number of ships had been put in commission, and that the workmen were employed night and day in the docks and arsenals. When Van Citters, the Dutch ambassador, inquired the object of this armanient, James merely replied that he had no intention of disturbing the peace of Europe : but one of the ministers gave him to understand, that, if the States sought to avoid a war, it would be necessary to comply with the king's demand ²¹. This hint had its effect : and the exiles were ordered by proclamation to withdraw from the maritime districts of the republic. The order, however, remained a dead letter, excepting at the Hague, and the prince, careful not to offend men whose services he might afterwards require, though he abstained from open communication with them himself, occasionally met them in private, and kept up a connection with their chiefs through his favourite counsellors, Fagel, Bentinck, and Halweyn.

CHAP.
II.
1687.

1686.
July 23.

2. The maintenance by the States of six British regiments on the continent, revocable by the crown in the case of invasion or rebellion, was

2. The state of the British force in Holland.

²¹ Je lui dis que ce qu'il me disoit sembloit fort à une déclaration de guerre. Sur quoi il répondit : Je ne prononce pas le mot de guerre, mais c'est à vous à considérer ce que je veux dire. Lettre de M. Van Citters, 2 Août, 1686.

CHAP. supposed to bring with it this advantage, that the
II.
1687. king, on any sudden emergency, would have at
his command a disciplined and native force, without the previous expense of their support in time of peace. During the attempt of Monmouth the experiment was partially made; when it appeared that the regiments brought to England were more disposed to fight in the cause of the usurper than of the legitimate sovereign. This furnished another source of irritation. James sought to reform the brigade by cashiering the officers of doubtful fidelity, and supplying their places with men of more loyal principles and connections. But William, the commander in chief, was perfectly satisfied with the existing constitution of the regiments. He looked to them for aid in the event of his contending for the English crown; and therefore made it his object to keep them under the guidance of officers, whose interests were identified with his own. To the demands of the king he opposed delays and objections, which provoked complaints and remonstrances. By dint of perseverance James procured the removal of those whom he named as his enemies: but in the appointment of others to succeed them, little regard was paid to his recommendation. William steadily refused commissions to all, whom he suspected of being attached to the king or the catholic faith, while on the other hand he sought out men dependent on himself, and particularly the officers who had been discharged by Tyrcon-

nel from the army in Ireland. The consequence was that, in the following year, these regiments hesitated not to draw the sword against their natural sovereign, and cheerfully accompanied the prince in his expedition to England²².

CHAP.
II.
1687.

3. William also thought that he had his grounds of complaint. It was evident that the religious fabric which James laboured to rear with so much danger to himself, would crumble into dust on the accession of the princess of Orange. Hence sprung a report that it was the royal intention to exclude her from the throne, either in favour of the princess Anne, provided the latter would embrace the catholic faith, or, in case of her refusal, in favour of his illegitimate son, the young duke of Berwick. That no such notion ever suggested itself to the king's mind, or obtained his approbation when suggested by others, is plain from his solemn asseveration, and the uniform tenour of his conduct with respect to his daughter Mary. It seems to have originated with Barillon²³, who in his anxiety to serve his

3. The
succession
to the
crown.

²² D'Avaux, Lettres du 12 Juin, 14 Août, 1687 ; 2 Avril, 1688.

²³ I attribute this project to the fertile brain of Barillon, because as early as the 16th of March, 1685, he suggested it to Louis, as a measure which some talked of, and which James might be led to adopt, if he were solidly established on the throne by the aid of Louis in the beginning of his reign. Barillon, 26 Mars. The king replies : il est bien à souhaiter que ledit roi puisse porter la princesse Anne sa fille à embrasser la religion catholique, mais il n'y a pas lieu de croire qu'il puisse éloigner par ce moyen la princesse d'Orange de la succession. Lettre du 6 Avril.

CHAP. own sovereign, laboured by every artifice in his
 II.
 1687. power to inflame the jealousy, and widen the
 ————— breach, between James and his nephew. On the
 suspicious mind of the latter, who had long flattered himself with the future acquisition of the British crown, this report made a deep and lasting impression: and Van Citters, the ambassador, was employed by him to sound and discover the real disposition of the monarch. At the mention of a change in the succession, the king replied, that he did not believe there existed a man, who would dare to affront him with such a proposal; that religion was not to be established by acts of injustice; and that he loved all his children too well to do any of them wrong²⁴. This answer,

1686.
 Aug. 17.

²⁴ “ Sa majesté me dit qu'elle ne croyoit point que qui que ce soit osât le lui représenter, et qu'elle n'y entendroit jamais.... que dieu n'avoit jamais exigé d'aucun roi ou prince qu'ils fissent des lachetés ni des injustices pour l'établissement d'aucune religion, bien loin d'approuver un tort aussi inoui qu'elle feroit à ses propres enfans, pour qui elle avoit la plus grande estime.” Lettre de Van Citters, 27 Août. I shall not transcribe the paper which at the same time the envoy put into the hands of the king. It pretended to be a secret report made to him by the privy council, and is evidently, as James pronounced it, a forgery, probably got up for the purpose of drawing from him his sentiments on the subject of which it treats. Its substance may be seen in Mazure (ii. 161), who has transferred it to his pages, but in much better language than it can boast of in the original. In consequence of a passage in this paper advising him to gain by submission the protection of the king of France, “ S. M. me dit avec chaleur, qu'elle étoit résolue de ne pas flétrir sa couronne en aucune manière; qu'elle vouloit que tout le monde sût qu'elle étoit née Anglaise; et qu'ayant son ambassadeur à Rome, quoiqu'elle eut un grand respect et vénération pour le St. siege,

however, did not tranquillize the mind of the prince, who artfully demanded a yearly income to be settled on his wife in quality of *presumptive heir*. Some of the catholic counsellors, anxious to earn his favour, solicited the king to accede to the request: but James was not a prince to give away his money with the suspicion that it might be employed against himself, and he eluded the demand with this answer, that no income could be claimed by the heir to the crown, unless it were to be spent within the kingdom²⁵. Defeated in this pursuit, William adopted a plan to get into his possession the supposed competitor of his wife. Prince George had gone to Denmark on a visit to the king his brother; and Anne was persuaded to express a desire of spending the time of his absence in the company of her sister Mary. By James permission was cheerfully granted; but in a few days he repented of his facility, and revoked his word, under the pretence that it was contrary to sound policy, to allow both sisters, the next heirs to the crown, to be at the same time

CHAP.
II.
1687.

1687.

March 3.

March 7.

elle ne feroit jamais rien (quelque déplaisir que sa sainteté en pût avoir) qui la mit au dessous des rois de France ou d'Espagne. Et enfin, s'écriant avec emportement, Vassal ! Vassal de la France ! Monsieur, si le parlement avoit voulu, et s'il vouloit encore me donner les moyens nécessaires, j'aurois porté la monarchie, et je la porterois encore, à une aussi haut degré de considération qu'elle ait jamais été sous le regne d'aucun des rois mes prédécesseurs : et cela ne seroit peutêtre pas mauvais pour votre état." Van Citters, ib'd.

²⁵ D'Avaux, 10 Janv. 1687 ; 20 Mai, 1688. Burnet, iii. 125.

CHAP. within the power and control of any foreign
 II. state ²⁶.
 1687.

4. The real expedient, by which the king hoped
 4. The to give stability to his plans in favour of his
 question catholic subjects, did not contemplate any change
 of the test in the succession. He had persuaded himself that
 act. William might be induced to approve of the
 general abolition of the penal laws on matters of
 religion, and even to pledge his word for the
 support of the measure after the decease of
 the reigning monarch. For this purpose he
 despatched to Holland sir William Penn, the
 celebrated quaker, that he might read lectures on
 toleration to the prince and princess, and might
 convince them that all restraint on the freedom of
 religious worship was contrary to the unalienable
 rights of conscience. But the address and
 eloquence of Penn were foiled by the cunning of a
 more welcome adviser, who suggested an answer
 subversive at once of the king's views and expect-
 ations; that, hostile as they were to persecution,
 yet they would never give their consent to the
 repeal of the test act, because the act was neces-
 sary for the preservation of the protestant faith ²⁷.
 This adviser was Burnet the historian, who
 having deeply offended the royal brothers during
 the reign of Charles, had asked and received per-

²⁶ Barillon, 13, 19, 24 Mars, 1687. Rochester and Churchill
 were suspected by the king as the advisers of Anne in this
 instance.

²⁷ Burnet, iii. 132, 133. D'Avaux, 23 Jan. 1687.

mission to travel on the accession of James. From CHAP.
 Italy he came back to Holland, where he was II.
 invited to the court of the prince, and soon 1687.
 acquired a high degree of favour and confidence.
 His knowledge of men and parties rendered him
 an invaluable counsellor ; and his reputation as a
 theologian enabled him to do to his patron a most
 acceptable service, by persuading the feeble mind
 of the princess that the law of England, which,
 in the event of her succession to the crown, would
 give her the superiority over her husband, was
 contrary to the law of God, which made her at
 all times subject to his authority ; and that she
 was therefore bound in conscience to transfer to
 the hands of the prince the sovereign power which
 she might subsequently inherit as her birth-right.
 Under this impression sending for William she
 made to him, in the presence of her instructor, a
 solemn promise, that, whatever authority might
 subsequently devolve on her, should be possessed
 and exercised by him : he should bear the sway,
 she would demean herself as a loving and dutiful
 wife ; nor did she ask any other return for this
 proof of affection than that, as she practised one
 command, *wives, be obedient to your husbands*
in all things, so he would practise the other, *hus-*
bands, love your wives. By these words she
 alluded to his amour with Mrs. Villiers, afterwards
 lady Orkney ; but William, though he exacted
 from her the benefit of the promise, was careful

CHAP. to absolve himself from the obligation of complying with the condition²⁸.
 II.
 1687.

5. The mission of D'Albeville. 5. Skelton, who represented the king of England at the Hague, had incurred the displeasure both of the States and of the prince: of the former in consequence of an attempt to seize with the aid of some English officers the person of sir Robert Peyton, one of the outlaws; and of the latter on account of some real or imaginary interference in his amours, matters which were publicly known, though William sought to persuade himself that they were wrapt in impenetrable obscurity²⁹. James transferred Skelton to the higher post of ambassador at Paris, and chose for his successor White, a native of Ireland, and generally known by the name of marquess of Albeville, which title he had accepted from the emperor in lieu of the pecuniary compensation due to his services. Albeville was a catholic, and therefore less acceptable to the States, but more likely to execute with fidelity the commissions with which he was charged³⁰. He took with him the royal recom-

²⁸ Burnet, iii. 123—131. "Ever after that, he seemed to trust me entirely." Burnet describes the suggestion as originating with himself; lord Dartmouth infers from the very narrative, that he was employed by the prince. 131, note.

²⁹ See the intercepted letter from Dr. Covell to Skelton, on the conduct of the princess under the bad treatment which she received from her husband, in *Clar. Corresp.* i. 165. Covell was her chaplain, and was in consequence dismissed by the prince.

³⁰ He had formerly rendered some service to the king of France, and before his departure Barillon not only made him a present of

mendation in favour of the officers implicated in the attempt upon Peyton, and though he could not prevent them from being cashiered, was suffered to convey them in safety to England³¹. He also succeeded, though with considerable difficulty, in procuring the removal of Burnet from the court of the prince: but it was little more than a nominal removal; for though William no longer spoke to him in person, he continued to consult him on English affairs, through the agency of his confidential advisers³². But with respect to the two great objects of his mission Albeville was much more unfortunate. It was in vain that he assured the prince of the king's resolution to preserve the legal descent of the crown; that he had never entertained, that he could not for a moment entertain, a thought so wicked and unjust, as that of depriving his own daughter of her hereditary right. The assurance was received with outward acknowledgments, and with inward distrust. Neither would William listen to the arguments of the ambassador in favour of a total liberty of con-

CHAP.

II.

1687.

1686.

Oct. 10.

300 guineas in the name of Louis, but added the promise of a pension. In return he engaged to communicate with d'Avaux at the Hague, and to send information for Barillon in letters to Sunderland, though he was ordered to correspond officially with the other secretary, the earl of Middleton. Barillon, 2, 23 Sep. 1686; 3 Mars, 1687. At the Hague he laboured so earnestly to reconcile James and the prince, that d'Avaux doubted his sincerity: but that doubt soon vanished, and d'Avaux obtained for him another gratuity of 150 guineas in addition to his pension. D'Avaux, 23 Janv.; 12 Juin, 1687. See also Burnet, iii. 163.

³¹ D'Avaux, Lettres du 30 Jan.; 27 Mars; 14 Mai.

³² Id. 23 Janv.; 24 Avril.

CHAP. science. He was, he said, a friend of toleration,
 II.
 1687. but only in a limited sense : he wished the catholics
 — in England to enjoy all those liberties which were
 enjoyed by the Catholics in the United Provinces.
 But he dared not consent to the abolition of the
 test act, because it was the only security of the
 established church under a catholic monarch³³.

6. The
 contrary
 mission
 of Dyck-
 velt.

6. Soon after the mission of Albeville, new
 jealousies and alarms were excited by the disgrace
 of Rochester and the proceedings of Tyrconnel.
 Messengers from England arrived at the Loo and
 the Hague, and Fagel, Bentinck, and Halweyn,
 consulted with Burnet and the chief of the out-
 laws ; but William was too cautious to listen to
 those who advised an immediate recourse to arms ;
 and doubting the fidelity of the representations
 1687. made by his English adherents, he sent to London
 Feb. 11. as his agent Dyckvelt, a statesman of acute
 observation and consummate ability. To elude
 suspicion Dyckvelt was invested with an extraor-
 dinary mission from the States, and instructed to
 inquire into the destination of the armaments said
 to be in preparation in the English ports. But
 James, who was acquainted with his real object,
 complained in bitter terms of the distrust and
 duplicity of his son-in-law ; and to the question
 of the ambassador replied that he had neither the
 intention of disturbing the peace of Europe, nor
 of interrupting, as was rumoured, the legal line of

³³ D'Avaux, Lettre du 23 Janv.

succession³⁴. Dyckvelt, faithful to his instructions from the prince, improved the opportunity to learn the strength of the royal army, the state of the royal finances³⁵, and the feelings and resources of the several parties. He communicated personally or by letter with the secret adherents of William, assured the discontented that the prince would never submit to any measure which could weaken the ascendancy of the established church, advised the dissenters to stand aloof from the contest, and expect from the successor of James a more legal and permanent toleration, and threw out to the catholics a promise, that if they would deserve it by their conduct, they should find in William a protector from the future vengeance of their enemies. But these intrigues could not be concealed from the king, who expressed his resentment without reserve both to the agent himself

CHAP.
II.
1687.

³⁴ D'Avaux, 6 Fev. ; Burnet, iii. 164. "Le prince d'Orange," disoit il, "juge des autres par lui même. Il croit, parcequ'il a été d'avis de m'exclure, que le même dessein pourroit me venir dans l'esprit. Cependant ceux qui me connoissent, me croiront fort éloigné d'une pensée si injuste et si impracticable... Il prend la resolution de faire envoyer ici par les Etats un homme qui lui est entièrement affidé, par le moyen duquel il espère fortifier et encourager tous ceux qui sont de son parti... Il juge de moi par lui même. Mais il se tromp fort. C'est Dieu qui donne les couronnes, et mon intention est bien loin de rien faire contre la justice et le droit." Barillon, 27 Janv. 1687.

³⁵ According to Bonrepaus, who had seen the treasury accounts, James, after payment of all expenses, had a surplus of 100,000*l.* per annum. Lettre du 4 Juin.

CHAP. and his employer³⁶. Dyckvelt returned to Hol-
 II.
 1687. land, taking with him letters filled with expres-
 sions of attachment, and offers of service to
 June 9. William, from the marquess of Halifax, the earls
 of Shrewsbury, Bedford, Devonshire, Clarendon,
 Sunderland, Danby, Nottingham, and Rochester,
 the bishop of London, the lords Lumley and
 Churchill, admiral Russell, and several other
 individuals of high rank and extensive influence.
 It was not that all these aimed at the same object,
 or were even fully acquainted with the views and
 opinions of each other. Halifax, Sunderland,
 Clarendon, and Rochester chiefly sought to secure
 the good-will of the prince, whom they looked
 upon as the probable successor to the throne: but
 most of the others went much further: Danby,
 even in the days of his power, had sought the
 friendship of the prince in opposition to James:
 the bishop, and Devonshire, Bedford, Shrewsbury,
 and Lumley, had private wrongs to revenge; the
 two last, who had abandoned the catholic faith,
 were also anxious to display their zeal for the
 creed which they had chosen; and all these
 solicited from William an armed interference,
 which, while it should establish religion and
 liberty, might secure the succession to him and
 his wife, perhaps place them immediately on the
 throne. These sentiments it would have been

³⁶ Barillon, 12 Juin.

imprudent to commit to writing: and in their letters they confined themselves to general expressions of dubious import, the true meaning of which the bearer was authorized to explain³⁷.

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II.
1687.

The report which Dyckvelt made of his mission opened a more inviting prospect to the ambition of the prince, and revived all those aspiring hopes which had first been awakened by the bill of exclusion. It is not indeed to be supposed that he now formed the very plan of invasion which subsequently placed him on the English throne—that particular measure was brought about by events over which he had no control—but he resolved to be prepared for whatever might happen, to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity which might be offered by the impru-

Mission
of Zulcis-
tein.

³⁷ See them in Dalrymple, 190—200. Lord Devonshire's opposition to the court arose from the following circumstance. In 1686 colonel Culpepper struck him in the king's anti-chamber, and was condemned to lose his hand for the offence, but obtained a pardon after a long imprisonment. The next year the earl struck Culpepper with a cane near the queen's drawing-room, and, though he claimed the privilege of the peerage, was condemned by the court of King's Bench in a fine of 30,000*l.*, and to be imprisoned till the fine was paid. For a while he set that court at defiance: but when the attorney-general took out process against him that the fine might be estreated into the Exchequer, he sought to make his peace through the duchess of Mazarin, was admitted into favour, and given to understand that the fine would not be demanded if he behaved properly. Thus the matter stood till the revolution, when the lords (May 15, 1689,) declared the proceedings in the King's Bench a breach of privilege, the fine exorbitant, and that no peer could be committed for non-payment of a fine. See *State Trials*, xi. 1354—1372. Barillon, 30 Oct.; 6, 10 Nov. Bonrepaus, 7 Nov. *L. Journ.* xiv. 211.

CHAP. dence or the death of the king, and to encourage
 II. and stimulate the zeal of his friends in England,
 1687.

by assuring them that if James should attempt with the aid of "a packed parliament" to repeal the test act and the penal laws, he would join them with an armed force, and draw his sword with them in defence of their common religion.

Aug. 8. For this purpose he despatched Zuleistein, another envoy, under the pretext of offering his condolence to the king and queen on the death of the duchess of Modena. Zuleistein pursued the same conduct as Dyckvelt, and having consulted the chiefs of the malcontents, returned with letters and assurances of support to the Hague³⁸.

Change in the conduct of the prince. It was observed by James and his ministers that the departure of Dyckvelt had been followed by a striking change in the behaviour of the prince. Hitherto in his correspondence with his uncle his language had been reserved but respectful, more expressive of doubt than of determination; now he adopted a more resolute tone, and, in answer to a long and argumentative communication from James, replied that in no circumstances whatsoever, not even for the succession to the English crown, or to all the crowns in Europe, would he or the princess consent to the repeal of laws which they thought necessary for the support of the protestant religion³⁹.

June 24.

³⁸ Dalrymple, 200—210. Zuleistein was afterwards created earl of Rochford.

³⁹ D'Avaux, 19 Juin; 6 Juil. Id. *Negociations*, vi. 33. Barrillon, 17 Juil. Bonrepaus, 21 Juin.

7. This was followed by the publication of a CHAP. letter on the same subject, written by Fagel, the ^{II.} pensionary, to Stewart, a Scottish lawyer, who of ^{1687.} an enemy and outlaw had been made a convert to ^{7. Letter from} the royal cause by the address of sir William Penn. Fagel. Stewart, presuming on his former influence with the prince, had obtained permission of the king to commence a correspondence on the subject of the penal laws; and Fagel gladly embraced the opportunity to reply, that their highnesses were enemies to religious persecution, and willing to concede to the British catholics that liberty of worship which was enjoyed by the catholics of Holland, but that they never would consent to the repeal of the test, or of any act, having for its object the safety of the protestant church; that laws which merely fixed the qualifications for office could not be taxed with injustice, nor could that man be said to persecute, who did not seek to punish the religious belief of one party, but only to preserve the religious establishments of the other⁴⁰.

In this letter there was nothing which had not been repeatedly stated by Dyckvelt to the king, and by the prince to Albeville. But it was in reality composed for the information of others, of the catholic princes, the allies of William, who would learn from it that he bore no real hostility to the professors of the catholic faith, and of the

Consequences of that letter.

⁴⁰ Dumont, vii. part ii. p. 151. State Tracts, 334.

CHAP. II.
1687. British protestants, whom it would induce to look on him as the staunch and uncompromising champion of the protestant ascendancy in the British empire. With this view it was published in Dutch, French, English, and Latin, and forty-five thousand copies were sent for circulation to England, where, from the high place which Fagel held in the confidence of the prince, it was considered as a public paper, with a semi-official character. The friends of James, however, did not suffer it to pass without an answer. Treating it as the composition of William himself, they animadverted severely on the indecency of the publication. What right, they asked, could a foreign prince possess of announcing to the inhabitants of a great empire his condemnation of the rule of their sovereign? The test act, they maintained, was unjust, because it deprived the catholic peers of their birth-right, though guiltless of any crime; because it was founded on the acknowledged falsehoods and forgeries of Titus Oates, and because its real object had been the exclusion of James, while its real victims were those, who had been made subject to its provisions, that through *them* it might reach *him*. It was moreover a grievance to protestants themselves, by imposing on men, unused to such investigations, the necessity of pronouncing solemnly on the truth or falsehood of a metaphysical opinion, and of declaring the invocation of saints to be idolatrous, though the form of that invocation was

itself equivalent to a disclaimer of idolatry; and that to vindicate the test on the ground of its being merely a qualification for office was a pre-
 CHAP. II.
 1687.

tence, the falsehood and injustice of which Fagel himself would admit, were he by the enactment of a similar qualification excluded from his share in the government of the united provinces⁴¹.

Whatever force there might be in this reasoning, the publication of Fagel's letter completely answered the purpose of its author. By the tone of moderation which distinguished it, the pope, the emperor, and the catholic princes were led to believe that William was prepared to grant to the British catholics every indulgence which they were entitled to expect; and by pointing out to the British protestants the prince and princess as defenders of the test act, it constituted them in fact the leaders of the party. On the one hand it allayed the jealousy of his allies; on the other it encouraged the timid among his friends, confirmed the wavering, and stimulated all to resistance and exertion⁴².

But what great aid, it will be asked, could His artful conduct.

⁴¹ James, ii. 145—151; and Stewart's answer to Fagel. The catholic peers at this period were the duke of Berwick, the marquess of Powis, the earls of Salisbury, Peterborough, Portland, and Cardigan, the viscount Montague, and the lords Abergavenny, Audley, Stourton, Hunsdon, Petre, Gerard of Bromley, Arundel of Wardour, Teynham, Carrington, Widdrington, Belasyse, Langdale, Clifford, Jermyn of Dover, and Waldegrave. The next year sir Francis Radclyffe was created earl of Derwentwater.

⁴² Burnet, iii. 203. 206. Also 165, note.

CHAP. William bring to the disaffected in England? *He*

II.
1687.

was not the sovereign of the United Provinces;

— he held not at his disposal their naval and military force. He was no more than the servant of the States-General, bound to obey their orders, and answerable to them for his conduct. To employ their armies in a foreign war without their permission, was to violate the constitution; and to reveal to them his real object would have been to defeat his purpose by making it public. This was a great and alarming difficulty, and the consummate art with which it was surmounted, proves the political sagacity both of the prince

He gains
the affec-
tion of the
people.

and of his advisers. 1. In common with his friends he felt or affected to feel the deepest apprehension for the very existence of the reformed worship. Louis and James according to them were linked together in the closest amity, and had formed an impious league for the extirpation of protestantism. The first had already acted his part by his revocation of the edict of Nantes: the second was following his steps as rapidly as circumstances would permit: and from England and France they would extend their views to the United Provinces, whose religion and independence were evidently at stake. Nor was this opinion confined to political circles. It was echoed and enforced from the pulpits: a correspondence between the two jesuits Petre and la Chaise, confirmatory of such projects, was forged and published, prints descriptive of the sufferings

of the French protestants, with pamphlets calculated to kindle and inflame religious animosity, were industriously circulated; and the ministers, to make the deeper impression on the public mind, waited in a body on the prince, thanked him for his services in the cause of protestantism, and were informed by him in reply, that there never was a time which called more loudly for their prayers and exertions, because there never was a time when the true profession of the gospel was assailed by more powerful and determined enemies. By these arts the passions of the people were wrought up to such a degree of phrenzy, that moderate men felt themselves condemned to silence through the fear of being torn in pieces by the zeal of an enraged populace⁴³.

CHAP.
II.
1687.

2. While the prince thus secured the adhesion of the lower classes, he secretly excited or fomented a succession of petty quarrels between the States and his father-in-law. 1. The English East India company had made bitter complaints of the injuries which they suffered from the Dutch at Bantam and Masulipatam; and James in firm and threatening language insisted on immediate reparation. By William the States were exhorted to temporise; they protested

Foments
dissension
between
the king
and the
States.

⁴³ D'Avaux, 26 Feb.; 11 Mars; 10 Juin; 20 Juil.; 10 Août. Among these forgeries was also a letter from a jesuit at Liege to a jesuit at Friburg, which may be seen in Echard, 1820. Also Burnet, iii. 169, 170, note, and d'Avaux, 4 Juillet.

CHAP. against the exorbitant claims of the company ;

II.

1688.

— they excused the delay through the want of evidence from their own servants ; and, if they offered reparation, it was in terms evasive or unsatisfactory. 2. Soon afterwards a fleet of Algerine corsairs, commanded by Dutch renegadoes, appeared in the Channel for the purpose of making depredations on the commerce of the United Provinces. The admiral anchored in the harbour of Plymouth, and demanded, in virtue of the treaty between the king and the regency, permission to sell his prizes. His right to enter the port was admitted ; but the permission which he sought was refused : and yet the States remonstrated in violent terms against this determination : the charge that James was secretly leagued with the infidels against the heretics, was echoed back by the partisans of the prince in England and Holland ; and the king, to silence their clamour, issued orders to admiral Strickland to sweep the Channel of the pirates. 3. A third cause of dissension arose out of the countenance which Burnet, to whom James had traced several libellous publications, received in Holland. Having been cited to appear, he was pronounced fugitive by the court of justiciary in Scotland, but at the same time obtained letters of naturalization, and a promise of protection from the States. Albeville required that he should be delivered up in conformity with the treaty of Breda, but received for answer that their high mightinesses

understood the provision in that treaty in a very different sense from the king of England⁴¹. CHAP. II.
1688.

Lastly James demanded the six British regiments serving in the United Provinces: the States refused. He appealed to the law of nations; they replied that the civilians in Holland did not admit of the interpretation of that law given by the civilians in England: he claimed the services of the brigade in conformity with the capitulation between the prince of Orange and the earl of Ossory; they (though the British force in their pay had hitherto been governed by that very instrument) declared it of no value, because it had never been formally ratified. In conclusion March 15. the king by proclamation recalled his subjects serving under foreign powers; but the call was obeyed by only thirty-six officers, and a few privates⁴⁵. The effect of these bickerings proved

⁴¹ For the Algerines see Bonrepaus, 9, 16, 21 Juin. Ellis Correspondence, i. 127, 137: with respect to Burnet, D'Avaux, 17 Juil.; 7 Août; 29 Janv.; 10, 24 Fev. State Trials, xi. 1103—1124. Burnet, iii. 194.

⁴⁵ Burnet, iii. 208. D'Avaux, 12, 24 Fev.; 16, 18, 25 Mars. Barillon, 12 Fev.; 25 Mars. The recal of these troops originated with the French cabinet for the purpose of weakening the army, and embarrassing the counsels of the States. D'Avaux suggested it to Albeville, and Albeville to James, on the ground that he could have no reliance on the fidelity of the six regiments as long as they remained under the command of the prince. He assented, and proposed that Louis should take them into his service: but Louis deemed it better to furnish pay for two thousand men, provided they should remain in England. But by this time Sunderland had discovered the origin of the project, and instantly

CHAP. highly beneficial to William, in as much as they
 II. created an alienation of mind in the principal
 1688. persons among the States, which rendered them
 ——— willing to connive at measures calculated to injure
 a prince whom they both feared and disliked.

And se-
cretly pro-
cures
ships and
men.

3. But the chief object of his solicitude was to procure supplies of men, ships, and money, without disclosing at the same time his real purpose. His partisans began by disseminating a report that Louis and James had entered into a secret league to make war on the United Provinces in the following spring; but this falsehood ⁴⁶ would have failed of its purpose had it not been aided by the depredations of the Algerine corsairs, and the expectation of another visit from

threw every obstacle in the way of the negociation, till his services were purchased by a new gratification of 2250*l*. Immediately afterwards Albeville received orders to recal the troops. See d'Avaux, 22 Août, 1687; Barillon, 9 Janv. 1688; and the answer of Louis, 16 Janv. The pay of two thousand men amounted to 42,048*l*. a year.

⁴⁶ D'Avaux speaking of the false reports at the Hague uses these words: "le prince et ses créatures ont au suprême degré le talent des Autrichiens de débiter effrontément une meuterie, qu'ils savent bien devoir être détruite trois jours après," 6 Fev. 1687. That there existed no league between the two monarchs, either against the States, or for the support of James in England, is plain from all the despatches of the French ministers, and in particular from a letter of Louis XIV. to d'Avaux in answer to a hint on that subject: "Comme ce prince ne doute pas de mon affection, et du désir que j'ai de voir la religion catholique bien rétablie en Angleterre, il faut croire qu'il se trouve assez de force et d'autorité pour exécuter ses desseins, puis qu'il n'a pas recours à moi," 17 Juillet, 1687.

the pirates during the next summer. For the protection of their commerce the States voted a levy of nine thousand seamen; and the prince not only put twenty sail of men-of-war into commission, but ventured without authority to order twenty more to be put in such repair that they might be made ready for sea in a few days. He had also the address to procure from the States an order that the ships should not, as was usual, be stationed in the harbours of the different admiralties, but should rendezvous either at Flushing or Willemstad, two ports his own property, where he could exercise the command without control. With respect to the army he did not venture to raise any additional force; but he concluded private treaties with different princes of Germany, who bound themselves to furnish at his requisition several thousand men for the defence of the southern frontier, whenever the Dutch troops should be withdrawn by the prince for any distant expedition. To procure money towards the equipment of the fleet, the produce of the customs was almost doubled by the enforcement of new and severe regulations; and on his earnest remonstrances that several fortresses were falling into ruin, a loan of 4,000,000 of florins was voted for their repair. The loan was indeed ordered to be raised by equal portions, in four successive years, but the treasurer, under the influence and protection of the prince, obtained

CHAP.
II.
1688.

CHAP. the whole sum at once, and held it at the disposal
 II. of his patron ⁴⁷.
 1688.

Reports
 of the
 queen's
 preg-
 nancy.

In the mean while James pursued with obstinacy his dangerous and desperate career. The inutility of his past efforts might have taught him the folly of expecting to win the consent of men, while he continued to offend their prejudices, and trample on their rights. But his was a mind on which the lessons of experience were thrown away. Though the closetings, and removals, and interrogatories had failed, still he could discover no cause of despondency; the reasonableness of the thing, the interest of the dissenters, and the influence of the crown, would, he thought, gradually make converts to his opinion, and it was his fixed resolve to call no parliament, till he should be secure of a majority in both houses. The consent of the prince of Orange, which he had once considered necessary, was now a matter of less importance. The queen was pregnant; and her child, if, as he promised himself, it should prove a boy, would be entitled to the succession in the place of his daughter the princess Mary. He beheld with satisfaction the sudden damp which this intelligence cast on his opponents: but the report was soon met by a rumour most industriously circulated, that the queen's pregnancy was a mere

⁴⁷ *Negociations du comte d'Avaux*, vi. 9, 13, 28, 44, 59, 64, 66.

pretence, the first act of a farce, which would end in the production of a supposititious child, a false prince of Wales, to the exclusion of the true protestant heirs⁴⁸. In ordinary circumstances so improbable a tale could not have found credit: but it was eagerly received by the prejudice of party, and to give to it a greater air of probability, the story of queen Mary's "mock conception" by Fox the martyrologist, was reprinted and distributed among the people, under the title of "Idem iterum, or queen Mary's big belly." James, however, treated this attempt with scorn, and by proclamation announced the propitious event to his loving subjects, ordering at the same time a day of thanksgiving to be observed, with a form of service prepared by the three bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Dec. 23.

⁴⁸ Of the reality of the queen's pregnancy, and of the birth of the prince, no man can reasonably doubt, who has perused the extracts from her letters to the princess of Orange (Ellis, 1 series, iii. 348), the depositions made before the council (Several declarations, &c. 23, 40, 41, 47), and the passages selected by Mazure from the despatches of Barillon and Bonrepaus (Mazure, ii. 366—369, 459). From these it appears that the queen was herself uncertain as to her time, reckoning occasionally from the king's arrival at Bath in the beginning of September, and occasionally from their return to Windsor in the beginning of October: a point of some consequence in the controversy, as it completely sets aside the most plausible of the objections: though it is plain, that if fraud had been intended, nothing was more easy than to have fixed on a certain time, and to have abided by it. See also the letters in Dalrymple (303—314), which do little credit to the filial piety of the princesses Mary and Anne.

CHAP. From this moment his adversaries watched his
 II. conduct with more than their former jealousy,
 1688. while the infatuated monarch continued to act as if it were his wish to conjure up and combine together all the elements of that storm, which in a few months burst on his head, and swept him and his from the throne.

Presenta-
 tion of
 Corker.

1. The elector of Cologne had appointed for his resident at the English court a native Benedictine monk, of the name of Corker, who had been tried for his life during the imposture of the popish plot. There was something sufficiently extraordinary in the appointment itself: but James was not satisfied: he insisted that the resident should be introduced at court in the habit of his order, accompanied by six other monks, his attendants, in a similar dress. It was a ludicrous rather than an offensive exhibition: but, while it provoked the sneers and derision of the courtiers, it furnished his enemies with a new subject of declamation against him, who, not content with screening these men from punishment, brought them forward as a public spectacle, to display his contempt of the law, and defiance of public opinion ⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Barillon, 16 Fev. "L'admission d'un Bénédictin à l'audience du roi d'A. en qualité d'envoyé d'un prince souverain, est plus capable d'éloigner les protestants de notre religion que de les y attirer; et comme on ne voit point de semblables exemples dans les pays entièrement catholiques, il semble aussi qu'on pouvoit se dispenser de donner ce sujet de raillerie aux hérétiques." Louis à Barillon du 26 Fev.

2. His next act was calculated to beget a fiercer and more general spirit of discontent. In the beginning of the year Parker, bishop of Oxford, died, and James by a mandatory letter ordered the presidentship of Magdalen college to be given to Dr. Giffard, who was already selected for one of the four vicars apostolic⁵⁰. The great majority of the fellows and demies, as the reader is aware, were already catholics: by this nomination the president was now a catholic; so that the college in fact was taken from the protestants and made a catholic establishment, and that too, by a prince, who had solemnly promised to maintain the rights and privileges of the church. In his defence it was argued, that by the obstinate secession of the former inmates the house had fallen to the crown, and that in such case the sovereign might reasonably fill it with one class of religionists, when it had been abandoned by the other. But such sophistry could make little impression on the mind of any man, who considered the origin of the quarrel, and the law of the land. A prudent prince would have grasped at the opportunity of effecting a reconciliation with the university: James by a new act of

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Catholic
president
of Mag-
dalen col-
lege.

March 31.

⁵⁰ Hitherto there had been but one catholic bishop in England, Dr. Leyburn; but three others, Philip Ellis, a monk, Dr. Giffard, and Dr. Smith, secular clergymen, were appointed on the 30th of Jan. 1688, and the kingdom was divided into four districts, one of which was allotted to each on the 20th of July following.

CHAP. injustice chose to augment and perpetuate the
 II. cause of irritation ⁵¹.
 1688.

But that which filled up the measure of his
 New de- offences, was the prosecution and trial of the
 claracion of liberty seven bishops. A year had elapsed since his
 of liberty proclamation of liberty of conscience. He now
 of con- ordered it to be republished, and appended to it
 science. an additional declaration, stating his unalterable
 April 25. resolution of securing to the subjects of the
 English crown "freedom of conscience for ever,"
 and of rendering thenceforth merit and not oaths
 the qualification for office. A rival people (the
 Dutch) might censure and complain—they would
 be the losers by the improvement—but liberty of
 conscience would add to the wealth and pros-
 perity of the nation, and give to it what nature
 designed it to possess, the commerce of Europe.
 He would have his subjects to look back on the
 three years which they had already passed under
 his sway, and judge from the ease and happiness
 which they had enjoyed, whether, instead of being
 the tyrant represented by his enemies, he had not
 been in reality the father of his people. Where-
 fore he conjured them to lay aside all jealousies
 and animosities, and prepare to elect for the next
 parliament, which would meet at the latest in
 November, such representatives, as might aid to
 complete the great work which he had so happily
 begun ⁵².

⁵¹ James, ii. 125. Dodd, iii. 469. Burnet, ii. 219.

⁵² Wilkins, Con. iv. 616.

The king had persuaded himself that considerable benefit would be derived from this declaration; and that it might be the more generally known and obeyed, an order was sent to the several bishops from the council, enjoining that it should be read by the clergy in their respective churches, at the usual time of divine service, in London on the 20th, in the country on the 27th of May—an order, the impolicy of which is so very obvious, as to provoke a suspicion that it proceeded from the advice of a concealed enemy. It was not, indeed, without a precedent. In 1681, at the suggestion of archbishop Sancroft, the declaration of Charles II. against the Whigs was read by order of the king during the service⁵³. But then the court was in favour with the church, and no man thought of disobeying an order which he approved. But now, when the minds of the clergy were estranged by jealousy, and embittered with resentment, to insist that they should read to their flocks a declaration which they judged hostile to their interest, was to provoke a quarrel which, in the feverish state of the public mind, could not fail of proving most injurious to the royal cause. After a few days the archbishop gave a dinner to the leading clergymen in the capital: and, when those who had not been admitted into the secret, were departed, Compton of London, Turner of Ely, and White

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Order to
read it
in the
churches.
May 4.

Several
bishops
object.
May 12.

⁵³ Burnet, iii. 212. Baker, Continuation, 709.

CHAP. of Peterborough, with Dr. Tennison, remained
II.
1688. in consultation with the metropolitan. By them
—— it was resolved that the clergy could not read the
declaration either in prudence or in conscience:
not in prudence for three reasons, because it was
contrary to the interest of the church, because it
would be taken as a proof of their approbation or
their cowardice, and because it would lead to the
reading of other and perhaps still more offensive
papers; nor could they read it in conscience,
because it contained illegal matter, as it pre-
supposed not merely a dispensing but even a
disannulling power in the crown. But it might
be asked, were the clergy the proper judges of
that question? Or could they conscientiously
refuse to obey an order issued by the head of
their church? The objection was answered by a
train of reasoning which would have done honour
to the most subtle casuist: that each individual
must judge for himself, and act according to that
judgment: that hence, if he judge a declaration
illegal, there can be no disobedience in refusing to
read it: for unlawful matter ought not to be
published by him who thinks it unlawful, because
it cannot come to him from any lawful authority;
not from the king, for the king can do nothing
unlawful; nor from his ministers, for they must
have their authority from him. The refusal then
is lawful, and consequently free from the guilt of
disobedience ⁵⁴.

⁵⁴ Kennet, 482. James, ii. 152. Clarendon's Diary, 171.

In consequence of this resolution seven other CHAP. II. 1688.
 bishops were invited to join the four in London ;
 and of these Lloyd of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath
 and Wells, Lake of Chichester, and Trelawney of ^{They pe-}
 Bristol, obeyed the summons. Before them was ^{tition}
 laid a petition to the king in the handwriting of ^{against it.} May 18.
 the archbishop, praying in respectful language
 that the clergy might be excused from reading
 the declaration, not because they were wanting in
 duty to the sovereign, or in tenderness to the
 dissenters, but because it was founded on the
 dispensing power which had often been declared
 illegal in parliament: on which account they
 could not in prudence, honour, or conscience,
 make themselves such parties to it as the reading
 of it in the church would amount to in common
 and reasonable construction. To this instrument
 they set their names, with the exception of the
 bishop of London, who was still suspended from
 his jurisdiction; and the subscribers, leaving at
 Lambeth the archbishop, who had been some
 time before forbidden access to the court, pre-
 sented it on the same evening to the king in his
 closet ⁵⁵.

That the matter of the petition would prove ^{Their in-}
 offensive, there could be no doubt: but James ^{terview}
 had an additional and more reasonable cause of ^{with the} king.
 complaint. They had suffered fourteen days since

⁵⁵ Clarendon's Diary, 171. Kennet, 483. State Trials, xii.
 453. State Tracts, 430.

CHAP. the issuing of the order to pass in silence ; and
II.
1688. now, when there wanted but thirty-six hours of
—— the time for carrying it into execution, they for
the first time came forward with their objections.
The delay might not have been intentional : it
might have arisen from indecision or apprehen-
sion : but to the king it seemed as if they sought
to take him by surprise, to extort from him an
answer, without allowing him leisure for deli-
beration. He replied with warmth and asperity,
that he had not expected such treatment from the
church of England ; that they were sounding the
trumpet of Sheba, and raising a devil, which they
would never be able to lay ; that they made
themselves the tools, unconscious tools, he had
the charity to believe, of men, who aimed at the
ruin of the church as well as of the throne ; that
the dispensing power was part of the doctrine of
the church ; that some among the subscribers
had both preached and written in defence of that
doctrine ; that it was a power which, as God had
given it to him, he would be careful to maintain ;
and that, whatever they might think, there still
remained seven thousand men, and of the church
of England too, who had not yet bowed the knee
to Baal. On their part they conjured him not to
think so harshly of them : they would lose the
last drop of their blood rather than lift up a
finger against him : but if they were bound to
honour *him*, it was also their duty to fear God :
to read the declaration was against their con-

science, and they hoped that he would allow to them, what he professed to grant to all, liberty of conscience. In conclusion, he did not return a positive refusal. He would take time to consider. If he changed his mind they should hear from him in the course of the following day: if they did not, they might know that the order was to be obeyed ⁵⁶.

James might, perhaps, have relented; but, to add to his vexation, he learned the same night that the petition, though it had never yet been out of his possession, was actually printed, and openly distributed in the streets of the metropolis. This treatment, acting on a mind naturally obstinate, confirmed him in his first resolution. He no longer doubted that it was a preconcerted plan: that the motions of the prelates were secretly guided by the leaders of his opponents; and that the object of the publication was to embarrass him, and to excite the clergy to resistance. The next morning he took the advice of the twelve judges; the day passed in silence; no notice was forwarded to the prelates; and on the Sunday the declaration was read in a few, but a few only, of the churches in London ⁵⁷.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

He does
not revoke
the order.

⁵⁶ James, ii. 154, 155. Clarendon's Diary, 172. App. 479. State Trials, xii. 454. Lonsdale, 26—28. Gatch, i. 335—338.

⁵⁷ Higgons, 333. James (Memoirs), ii. 211. Clarendon's Diary, *ibid*. Evelyn, iii. 312. "On ne doute pas que ce qu'ont fait quelques uns des Evêques ne soit concerté avec plusieurs autres, et avec les chefs du parti opposé à la cour." Barillon, 3 Juin.

CHAP. II. 1688. This conduct of the bishops perplexed the royal counsels. Many contended that by the premature publication of the petition, and their subsequent disobedience, they had compromised the authority of the sovereign; that, if he permitted them to beard him with impunity to his face, he might as well resign the sceptre at once; and that, to prevent similar acts of insubordination, he ought to send the offenders for punishment before the ecclesiastical commission. Others (and among them, it should be observed, were Sunderland and Petre⁵⁸) represented the danger of arraying the whole church of England against the authority of the crown, and advised that the bishops should be admonished of their fault, and told that, if they escaped with impunity, it was owing to that very declaration which they refused to read, to that universal liberty of conscience, which they so loudly condemned. James fluctuated between these opposite opinions: but the first, though he admitted it to be the less prudent, accorded better with his unyielding disposition; and he resolved to call the offenders to account, not indeed before the ecclesiastical commission—that would bear

Deter-
mines to
prosecute
the sub-
scribers.

⁵⁸ In the despatch which contains the account of these different opinions, Barillon expressly says of the advice to dismiss all intention of prosecuting the bishops, “*cet avis est celui de mylord Sunderland et du P. Piers*” (Barillon, *ibid.*); and I notice the passage, because it refutes the report spread abroad at the time, that Petre in very offensive terms had urged the king to punish the prelates.

the appearance of religious persecution—but before a criminal court, and for a civil misdemeanour.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Of all the counsels which marked the arbitrary yet impotent policy of the king this was by far the most mischievous. It drove the very assertors of passive obedience into the arms of his enemies, who were not slow to avail themselves of the advantage, to add to the irritation of the public mind by pamphlets and reports, and to encourage the bishops by the offer of their sympathy, and presence and advice. When the seven prelates appeared before the council, they met with a gracious reception from the monarch; and having, after some demur, acknowledged their respective signatures to the petition, were told by the chancellor that they must answer for the offence in Westminster-hall, but that, in the mean time, to spare them the disgrace of imprisonment, the king would accept their personal recognizances. They replied, as had been previously arranged, that they were peers of the realm, and, as such, could give no other security than their word⁵⁹. The council seemed taken by surprise. The bishops were at first ordered to withdraw, and then recalled: the offer was renewed; it was repre-

Their behaviour before the council.

June 8.

⁵⁹ It had been understood from the answer of the archbishop to lord Berkeley on the preceding evening, that they would give such security, but the next morning that prelate was informed that "all their wise friends" advised them to refuse. *State Trials*, xii. 457, 461.

CHAP. II. 1688. sented as a favour which the king wished them to accept: but they persisted in the refusal; and a warrant was drawn for their commitment to the Tower, charging them with contriving, writing, and publishing a seditious libel⁶⁰, and signed by the whole board with the exception of Petre, who on his petition was excused by the king, and of lord Berkeley, who, though he had concurred in opinion with his colleagues, was at the moment, accidentally or designedly, absent⁶¹.

Who are
com-
mitted
to the
Tower.

To check the expression of popular feeling, and to prevent any attempt to rescue the right reverend prisoners, it had been thought prudent to convey them by water to the Tower. As they proceeded down the river, the people cheered them from the bank; on their landing the officers and privates of the garrison bent their knees, and solicited the blessing of those whom they were commissioned to keep in confinement. It was the hour of the evening service. The prelates

⁶⁰ James, ii. 158. State Trials, 198, 455—462. Clar. Corresp. ii. 175, 177. App. 481—484. Though the prosecution was determined upon in opposition to the advice of Sunderland, Barillon observes of him, that “*comme habile ministre et bon courtisan il soutient avec beaucoup de chaleur et de fermité les résolutions qui ont été prises.*” 1 Juillet. The compiler of the *Memoirs* of James attributes, but without referring to any authority, the resolution to Jeffreys. Jeffreys himself, without a positive denial, seeks to insinuate the contrary in his conversations with Clarendon a few days afterwards. Diary, June 24, 27.

⁶¹ Barillon, 21 Juin. He attributes the absence of Berkeley to fear.

hastened to the chapel; the second lesson was CHAP.
 read; "I have heard thee in a time accepted, II.
 and in the day of salvation I have succoured thee; 1688.
 behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is
 the day of salvation;" nor can we be surprised if
 men in such a state of excitement applied these
 words to themselves, and took them for a predic-
 tion of the deliverance of the church from the
 ruin with which they thought it was menaced ⁶².

But two days later, while the public attention Birth of a
 was absorbed by the proceedings against the prince.
 bishops, the queen was unexpectedly taken in la- June 10.
 bour. Messengers were instantly despatched;
 the royal physicians, the ladies of the court, and
 the members of the council hastily assembled in
 her apartment; and in the course of an hour the
 king was blessed with what he so ardently wished
 for, the birth of a son, the apparent heir to his
 crown. He did not dissemble, his friends did not
 dissemble their common joy; their chief appre-
 hension was removed; the princess of Orange
 was no longer the next in the succession. The
 disappointment and vexation of his opponents

⁶² In the mean time the petition was subscribed by the bishops of London, Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Landaff, Worcester, Winchester, and Exeter. Those who published the order for reading the declaration were the bishops of Durham, Lincoln, Hereford, Rochester, Chester, and Carlisle. Of these six two only, Hereford and Chester, refused the oaths to king William, while of the seven who were prosecuted, the archbishop, and the bishops of Ely, of Bath and Wells, of Chichester, and of Peterborough, were deprived on that account.

CHAP. were equally marked. But they quickly rallied :
II.
1688. — they had prepared the people to expect a supposi-
titious birth, and they maintained that their pre-
dictions had been verified. A number of reports
and fables were immediately circulated. It was
said that the queen had never exhibited those ap-
pearances which accompany a state of pregnancy;
and had taken care that the pretended delivery
should happen in the absence of the princess of
Denmark, and of those who were the most inter-
ested in the event. According to one tale she had
suffered a miscarriage in the third, according to
another in the sixth, month ; some persons de-
scribed minutely how the child had been intro-
duced beneath the bedclothes in a warming-pan,
and thence exhibited to the spectators by the
midwife as the royal infant, while others cared
not whether there had been a real birth or not ;
certain they were that the child died in a few
hours, and that another was substituted in its
place. The inconsistency of these accounts fur-
nishes a sufficient proof of their falsehood : but
they were so often and so positively asserted that
they made impression : well-meaning individuals
began to think the birth of the prince problemat-
ical, while thousands, consulting their prejudices
rather than their judgment, held it for an un-
doubted imposture. By James this imputation,
so injurious to his honour and veracity, was
keenly felt : but he scorned to notice it publicly,
and contented himself with ordering a day of

general thanksgiving, making on the occasion presents to his ministers, and giving a considerable sum in charities to the poor⁶³.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Could the king have foreseen the consequences of his contest with the bishops, he had now, by publishing a general pardon on the birth of his son, a fair opportunity of extricating himself without disgrace from that pitiful yet dangerous quarrel. But his high and obstinate temper never knew when to yield, and he risked the very existence of his authority, that he might not be thought to have exercised it in vain. On the appointed day the seven prelates were brought from the Tower accompanied by several peers and gentlemen: on their approach to Westminster-hall the crowd divided; and as they passed through the lane of spectators, the bystanders begged their blessing, and kissed their hands and garments. After much time had been spent in arguing the objections taken by their counsel, they pleaded not guilty, and were discharged on their own recognizances to appear again for trial on that day fortnight. As they left the court, they were greeted with loud acclamations; the enthusiasm

The bishops are
bailed.

June 15.

⁶³ Barillon, 1 Juil. Gaz. 2345. See also these absurd reports collected with care by Burnet, iii. 236—245. Isabella lady Wentworth, who was in attendance, had nevertheless declared to him, “that she was as sure the prince of Wales was the queen’s son, as that any of her own children were hers; when out of zeal for the truth and honour of my mistress,” said she, “I spake in such terms as modesty would scarce let me speak at another time.” Ibid. 368.

CHAP. of the people shewed itself by lighting bonfires in
 II.
 1688. the evening and drinking to the seven champions
 — of the church ; and their liberation was celebrated
 as a triumph, though it had in reality been obtained by the very same concessions, which they had refused to make in presence of the council⁶⁴.

Their
 trial.
 June 29.

The expectation of the trial drew multitudes from the country to the metropolis. On the 29th of June thirty peers, the friends of the prelates, appeared on the bench ; Westminster-hall was crowded with spectators ; and an immense concourse of people, agitated by the most impatient anxiety, awaited the result in the open air. Within the court, the officers were unable to maintain the usual forms of decorum. The feelings of the audience burst through every restraint ; and repeated cheers of approbation encouraged the witnesses and the counsel for the prisoners. Powis the attorney, and Williams the solicitor-general, Shower the recorder, and sergeants Trinder and Baldock appeared for the crown, and against them were arrayed, Pemberton formerly chief justice, Levinz, Sawyer, Finch, Pollexfen, Treby, and Somers : a singular arrangement, which gave the defence of the popular cause to Sawyer and Finch, the conductors of all the state prosecutions towards the end of the last reign, and converted Williams, the Whig advocate and former enemy of the duke of York, into a

⁶⁴ State Trials, xii. 189—277. Burnet, iii. 221. Echard, 1103.

zealous champion of the pretensions of James. CHAP.
This change of parties gave birth to much alter- II.
cation. Taunts and sarcasms were thrown out 1688.
and retorted; the counsel reproached each other
with maintaining doctrines which they had for-
merly reprobated; and it required all the autho-
rity of Wright, the chief justice, to recal them
from personal invective to the cause before the
court. The information charged the prisoners,
that they had written and published a seditious
libel in the county of Middlesex. The first part,
the writing, the crown lawyers were compelled to
abandon. For though it was shown (but only
from the admission of the prelates before the
council), that the signatures were in the hand-
writing of the respective defendants, there was
not only no proof that they had signed their
names in Middlesex, but Lambeth, where every
one knew that the subscription took place, was
situate in the county of Surrey. Neither were
they at first more successful with respect to the
publication in Middlesex. That a petition had
been presented to the king in that county, was
admitted: but that the very petition in question
had been presented by the seven prelates, could
not be proved: and the chief justice had com-
menced his charge to the jury with the intention
of directing an acquittal, when he was impru-
dently interrupted by Finch, who requested per-
mission to make some additional observations. To
the surprise of the court, when the indulgence

CHAP. which he craved had been granted, it was im-
 II.
 1688. mediately waved : but his opponents had improved

the opportunity to send for lord Sunderland, who deposed that the defendants informed him of their purpose of presenting a petition, that he accordingly introduced them to the king, and that his majesty showed him the petition in question as that which they had put into his hands. This testimony, though subversive of the defence which had been set up, proved to the parties the occasion of a more important victory. Without it the bishops would have been acquitted on the ground of technical informality; after it they obtained an acquittal on the very substance of the charge.

Their de-
 fence.

Their advocates abandoned the subterfuges on which they had hitherto relied, entered into the real merits of the case, and contended that the bishops had only exercised their right of petitioning for the redress of grievances as British subjects, and their duty of supporting the act of uniformity as its legal guardians; that their petition was not seditious, because it was presented in private, nor false because the matter of it was true; nor malicious, because it was drawn from them by necessity, and offered to the sovereign with the most innocent intention. But that which chiefly delighted and electrified the audience, was the eagerness with which they discussed the question of the dispensing power, and the eloquence with which they combated the arguments of its advocates.

The judges charged the jury separately. CHAP. Wright, the chief justice, said, that the question ^{II.} of the dispensing power was not before them: if _{1688.} they believed the petition in the information to be ^{Opinions} that which the bishops presented to the king, the ^{of the} publication was proved; and, if it were calculated ^{judges.} to breed dissension between the king and the people, as in his judgment it was, it must be considered as a libel. He was followed by Halloway, who maintained that the offence consisted in the intention, and that, if the bishops only sought to free themselves from blame, by stating the reasons why they could not obey, the petition in his judgment could not be a libel. Powell succeeded, who confined himself to the dispensing power. The petition pronounced that power illegal; and would certainly be libellous if the assertion were false. But it was true. He had read of no case in law which showed that the king possessed such power, and this he knew that the exercise of it would vest the whole legislative authority in the sovereign, and render parliament unnecessary. Lastly came Allybone, who said that, for a private individual to pronounce the proceedings of government illegal, whether it was done under the form of a supplication, or petition, or address, was a libel: the reformation of such things belonged not to private persons but to the two houses of parliament. He would not discuss the prerogatives of the king or the privileges of the subject, but he thought that in the present

CHAP. case those venerable prelates had travelled out of
 II.
 1688. their province, and by declaring the conduct of
 — government illegal, had taken upon themselves
 more than any individuals ought to do⁶⁵.

Verdict of acquittal. The jury (for it cannot be objected to this misguided prince that he ever made an attempt to pervert the course of justice) had been fairly chosen. Differing in opinion among themselves, they left the court, and spent the night in loud and violent debate. In the morning they returned, and pronounced a verdict of not guilty. It was received with deafening shouts of applause; the enthusiasm communicated itself to the crowd without the hall; it was rapidly propagated to the extremities of the metropolis; thence it reached the neighbouring hamlets, and at length penetrated to the camp on Hounslow-heath, where it is said, that the king himself, who chanced to be dining with the general, lord Feversham, was surprised and alarmed at the acclamations of the soldiers⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ Of the three puisne judges Halloway and Powell were dismissed at the end of the term, on account of their charges in favour of the bishops. That this was the true reason of their discharge is evident from the testimony of Barillon, who announced it some time before. (*Les deux juges, qui ont voté pour les Evêques seront destitués, mais on laissera achever le terme auparavant. Barillon, 12 Juillet.*)

⁶⁶ For this important trial see *State Trials*, xii. 277—431, 475. *Burnet*, iii. 222—226. *Macpherson*, i. 266. *Ellis Correspondence*, ii. 7—12. *Clar. Diary*, 179, 180. *Hist. of Eccles. Commis.* 53—60. Barillon in his letter gives a long account of it to Louis. He says the jury were divided in the evening, seven against, and

When he had leisure for sober reflection, James did not fail to condemn the rashness which had hurried him into this ill-advised and unsuccessful contest. But if the prejudice which it would offer to his interests forced itself on his attention, he sought to console himself with the consideration of the benefits to be derived from the birth of his son, and the hope that the one would counterbalance the other. But in this he was also disappointed. That birth proved the immediate occasion of his downfall. Thousands had hitherto borne with his misrule under the persuasion that their grievances would be redressed during the expected reign of his daughter and her husband; but now that there was an heir apparent, who would probably be educated in the faith and principles of his father, instead of ceasing to look forward to the prince of Orange, they fixed their eyes on him with greater earnestness, considering him as the only man, whose interference could preserve their liberties and religion. The enemies of James were careful to encourage and propagate this opinion ⁶⁷.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Its influence on
the public.

five for the bishops. But "la vérité est que les juges et les jurés ont été entraînés par le torrent du peuple, et que ce grand concours, qui a paru en faveur des évêques, les a intimidés. La joie et les acclamations ont été fort grandes à Westminster, quand on a su la décision. Il y a eu des boîtes tirées sur la rivière. On fit des feux de joie. La populace brûla une représentation du pape." 12 Juillet.

⁶⁷ La naissance du P. de Galles peut apporter un changement considerable, et fortifier le parti de la royauté. Les factieux

CHAP. II. 1688. With regard to the prince himself, he had never lost sight of the great object of his ambition. During the months of April and May it was discovered by the French ambassador at the Hague that a swift-sailing boat repeatedly brought messengers from England, whose arrival was constantly followed by long and secret consultations. Of these messengers the most important was admiral Russell, afterwards earl of Orford, who sought to draw from William a promise of assistance against some fixed period; and though the result of his mission was kept secret at the moment, it was gradually unfolded by subsequent events. A pamphlet was published in Holland to prove that James was an usurper, because, being a catholic, he could not inherit the English throne, and that the princess of Orange was the rightful sovereign, and ought to have succeeded on the death of her uncle Charles II. The fleet in a complete state of equipment lay in the road of Schoonveldt, ready to sail on the first opportunity; the six British regiments, with the Dutch troops at Utrecht, and the garrisons in Zeeland, received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice; and it was announced that the princess intended to pay a visit to the States of that province in July, and

Preparation and disappointment of the prince.

May 10.

cependant croient être en plus grande nécessité de s'opposer au desseins de sa M. B. et cela peut hâter l'exécution de ce qu'ils veulent entreprendre. Barillon, 21 Juin.

would be followed in a few days by the prince. CHAP. II.
 As July was the month in which the queen of 1688.
 England expected to be delivered, there could be no doubt of the real object of this arrangement. William meant to show himself on the coast at the head of a considerable force, for the encouragement of his adherents in England, and probably to pass over to their assistance should the birth of a prince furnish occasion to an insurrection. But the child was born a full month before the expected time, an unpropitious event, which broke all these counsels. Nothing more was heard of the visit to Zealand; and William, in return to a communication from James, despatched Zuleisteen to England, with his warm congratulations on so fortunate an occurrence. This mission, he trusted, would serve to lull the jealousy of the king; and, which was equally important, would furnish an opportunity of learning with accuracy the ulterior views, and the probable resources, of his party in England. Zuleisteen was graciously received; but instead June 23. of returning immediately to Holland, spent his time in paying visits to his friends, which, while he seemed to have no other object in view but pleasure, gave him the opportunity of conferring in secret with the adherents of his master⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Lettres de d'Avaux, du 20 Mai; 3, 10, 24 Juin; 1 Juillet. Burnet, iii. 246.

CHAP. II. In one of these meetings, held at the house of
 1688. the earl of Shrewsbury, that nobleman, with the
 earls of Devonshire and Danby, the bishop of
 London, the lord Lumley, admiral Russell, and
 Sydney, afterwards earl of Romney,⁶⁹ subscribed
 in cipher an address to the prince, stating that of
 the common people nineteen parts out of twenty
 longed most anxiously for a change, and that the
 nobility and gentry, though they did not express
 themselves with equal freedom, were animated
 with the same sentiments; that, if the prince
 were to land with a force sufficient to promise
 protection to his friends, he would in a few days
 find himself at the head of an army double in
 number to that of the king, and would see crowds
 of officers and privates abandon the royal standard
 for that of religion and liberty; that the present,
 considering all circumstances, was a most favourable
 moment for the attempt; and that if he
 would engage to land before the end of the year,
 they, the subscribers, would not only join him
 themselves, but prepare others to accompany or
 follow them. One thing, however, they submitted
 to his most serious consideration. Could he
 assemble the necessary force without awakening
 suspicion? For if the design were to transpire,
 the immediate arrest and incarceration of

Memorial
 to him
 from Eng-
 land.
 June 30.

⁶⁹ Sydney enjoyed the chief confidence of the prince, and was the man who formed the association. See Burnet, iii. 265.

his friends in England would deprive him of that aid and co-operation on which the success of the enterprise must in a great measure depend ⁷⁰.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

It is probable that this memorial was transmitted to the prince by the hands of vice-admiral Herbert, who having been refused permission to leave the kingdom, escaped in the dress of a common sailor. Herbert was a bold and experienced mariner, who had tasted largely of the royal bounty, but had afterwards forfeited the command of a regiment, and the office of master of the robes, on account of his refusal to vote for the repeal of the test act. Russell brought him an invitation from the prince with the promise of a command in the Dutch fleet; and a strong but fallacious hope was cherished that his name would act as a spell to debauch the English sailors from their allegiance. William, after a conference with the fugitive, forbade the young prince to be

Escape of
Herbert.
July 10.

⁷⁰ See it in Dalrymple, 229, subscribed by 25, 24, 27, 29, 31, 35, 33. The earl of Nottingham (23) refused to sign, pleading scruples of conscience, which his associates termed suggestions of cowardice. Dalrymple, 232. Nottingham excused himself because "he apprehended no ill consequences to religion or the just interests of his highness which a little time would not effectually remedy, nor could he imagine that the papists were able to make any further considerable progress." Ibid. 237, July 27. The same had always been the opinion of lord Halifax, with whom the prince continued to correspond, without admitting him to his confidence, or placing any trust in his professions of service. See several letters by Halifax in Dalrymple, 186, 209, 219, 235.

CHAP. named in the prayer for the royal family, openly
 II. hinted his suspicion of an imposture, and in-
 1688. structed his dependents in Holland to pronounce
 the child supposititious; and this he did in conformity with the advice of his English associates, as affording him a plausible pretext for coming to England to inquire into the supposed injury done to the rights of his wife. The answer which he returned to the memorial is not extant; its purport must be collected from his subsequent conduct ⁷¹.

Conti-
 nental po-
 litics.

It was a fortunate circumstance for the prince that the political state of Europe afforded him opportunities, which he dexterously improved, of promoting, and at the same time disguising, his design. That hostility which events had originally engendered between him and the king of France, had subsequently been so far inflamed by mutual acts of provocation, that to humble the pride and reduce the power of Louis seemed for some years to have been his chief study and his ruling passion. In 1686, at his instigation, the emperor, the king of Spain in quality of duke of Burgundy, the king of Sweden in virtue of his dominions in Germany, and several other princes, had subscribed the league of Augsburgh, under the specious pretext of maintaining the

⁷¹ Barillon, 20 Mars. Dalrymple, 225. D'Avaux, 20 Juil.; 10 Août. Herbert was afterwards made earl of Torrington.

peace of the empire, but in reality to oppose the CHAP. I
pretensions of France⁷². The next spring other II.
powers, whose envoys met during the amuse- 1688.
ments of the carnival at Venice, acceded to the 1687.
confederacy; more than one-half of Europe was
engaged to fly to arms on the first aggression on
the part of Louis; and with this view, not only
the most powerful of the catholic princes, but
the pontiff himself, Innocent XI., had entered
into bonds of the strictest amity with the prince
of Orange. The death of the elector of Cologne 1688.
in May, 1688, put this mighty confederacy in May 25.
motion. That elector had possessed, besides
Cologne, the bishoprics of Liege, Munster, and
Hildesheim; his army amounted to twenty
thousand men: and in the war of 1672 the co-
operation of his forces, and the favourable situa-
tion of his dominions, had taught the French to
prize his friendship, the allies to lament his
enmity. Aware of the importance of providing
for him a successor attached to the French in-
terest, Louis had prevailed on the chapter to
elect as his coadjutor the cardinal of Furstem-
berg, bishop of Strasburg. But as a qualifica-
tion for the coadjutorship it was necessary that
he should previously resign his bishopric: and
Louis now found reason to repent the insults
which he had heaped upon the pontiff, who reso-
lutely refused to accept the resignation of the

⁷² Dumont, vii. par. ii. 130—135.

CHAP. cardinal. On the death of the elector the choice
 II. of his successor devolved of course to the chap-
 1688. ————— ter: Louis proposed the cardinal; the allies of

July 9. the league of Augsburg the prince Clement of Bavaria, though only seventeen years of age. The former had the majority of voices; but two-thirds were required for a valid election; and in default of these the choice devolved to Innocent, who selected the prince of Bavaria. The allies were equally fortunate at Hildesheim, Liege, and Munster, but, though in these places the French candidates were rejected, the principal fortresses, Bonn, Neutz, Keiserswert, and Rhinberg, were held by forces in the service of the cardinal, and consequently at the devotion of France. The armies on both sides were speedily in motion; and Louis in a passionate manifesto accused the pontiff of violating the laws of justice in favour of Austria, and of encouraging the prince of Orange to expel a catholic king from the throne of England⁷³. William viewed these events as they passed, with the eye of an experienced statesman; he took an active and important part in every negotiation; and while he silently prepared his expedition against England, pretended to have in view no other object

⁷³ *Dunont*, vii. par. ii. 167. There are in *Dalrymple* two letters from the cardinal d'Estrées at Rome, which, if they are genuine, show that the design of the prince had long been known to Cassoni, the papal minister, though concealed by him from the knowledge of the pontiff. *Dalrymple*, 241.

than the defence of the empire and of his own country against the meditated aggression of France. Under cover of this pretence he was able to infuse new vigour into the States-General and the several departments of the government. Orders were issued for the encampment of twenty thousand men between Grave and Nimeguen; fifty pieces of cannon, with the requisite supply of ammunition, were taken from the arsenals, and placed on flats to be conveyed to the rendezvous of the army; seven thousand men were raised for the naval, nine thousand for the military service; twenty-seven ships of war were added to the fleet of forty-four sail already in commission, and the squadron in the Zuider Zee received orders to proceed to the Texel, that it might be prepared to join the other squadrons at Helvoetsluys⁷⁴.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

July and
August.

From the commencement of the year the French and English ambassadors at the Hague had watched with jealousy the proceedings of William, and had communicated their suspicions to their respective sovereigns. Louis at first, uncertain whether the Dutch armament was designed against the king of England or the king of Denmark, proposed to James the junction of the English and French fleets, as a measure of precaution⁷⁵: afterwards, having obtained more

Incredulity of
James.

⁷⁴ D'Avaux, 27, 29 Juil.; 10, 20, 21, 31 Août.

⁷⁵ This suggested to Sunderland a new intrigue for the sake of money. At first the proposal was received with an air of indif-

CHAP. correct intelligence, he warned his English
 II. brother of the impending danger by repeated
 1688. — messages from the end of May to the beginning
 Aug. 19. of September, and at last he sent Bonrepaus to
 convince him of the design of the prince of
 Orange, to prevail on him to prepare against the
 invasion, and to offer him the services of the
 French fleet ⁷⁶. But the infatuated monarch was
 deaf to every admonition. He refused to believe
 that a daughter whom he tenderly loved could
 ever conspire with her husband to dethrone her
 father; he concurred in opinion with Sunderland,
 that the States would not suffer the prince to
 employ their naval and military force in a distant
 expedition, which must leave the country open
 to the ingress of a French army; and he con-
 cluded that their warlike preparations were pro-
 voked by the uncertain and menacing state of
 affairs on the continent. He was even led to sus-

ference; then an answer was given that James would fit out a fleet of twenty sail, provided Louis would defray the expense; and at last the form of a treaty was drawn, by which the king consented to equip the ships for a lower sum than had been previously asked, but under a secret understanding that the pension of Sunderland should be doubled. Louis, however, replied, that Denmark was no longer threatened; and that James must provide for his own security. The fleet was in consequence prepared for sea without any aid from France, and Sunderland obtained no addition to his pension. See Barillon's letters from the 22d of March to the 2d of June.

⁷⁶ His arrival provoked a report that he came to offer the king the aid of thirty thousand men: but his instructions related solely to the junction of the fleets.

pect, that the warnings which he received were in reality, so many artifices employed to draw him into an alliance with France before the opening of hostilities in Germany, an alliance most hateful to his subjects, and contrary to the policy which he had hitherto pursued. Skelton the ambassador at Paris saw with pain the incredulity of his sovereign; he acknowledged to the French minister his conviction that his master was deceived and betrayed; and, through his anxiety to avert the catastrophe which he feared, gave his sanction to the following expedient which nothing but the magnitude and the certainty of the danger could have excused ⁷⁷.

Albeville having by order of James demanded an explanation of the armaments going forward in the ports of the republic, d'Avaux the next day in a long harangue addressed to the States, enumerated all the warlike preparations made by

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Aug. 20.

Memoir of
D'Avaux.

Aug. 30.

⁷⁷ Il est bien certain que ce grande armement ne peut regarder que l'Angleterre. Cependant le roi d'A. ne demande aucun secours au roi.... Enfin il paroît dans une lethargie surprenante. Le roi a fait parler sur cela à M. Skelton, et il paroît par ce que cet envoyé a répondu, qu'il le roi d'A. prétend être sûr de ceux qui commandent ses vaisseaux, mais qu'il n'a nulle sûreté à l'égard des officiers et des troupes de terre....le dit sieur Skelton a répondu nettement que cette grande sécurité lui faisoit craindre avec beaucoup de raison que son maitre ne fut trahi, qu'il étoit informé des liaisons secrettes que quelques uns de ses principaux ministres avoient avec des gens entièrement dévoués au P. d'Orange, et il a même en quelque manière designé myl. Sunderland. Seignelay à Bonrepas, 31 Août. For the source of Skelton's information see Dalrymple, Hist. i. 201, note.

CHAP. the stadtholder of his own authority and with-
 II.
 1688. out the permission or knowledge of their high
 — mightinesses; and he assured them that his
 sovereign, being perfectly acquainted with the
 real object of the prince, had instructed him to
 let them know that the king of England was the
 ally of the king of France, and that the first act
 of hostility committed against the former would
 be taken by the latter as a declaration of war.
 The same message was delivered at the same
 time to the Spanish governor of the Netherlands,
 and the marshal d'Humieres hastened from Paris
 to assume the command of the French army in
 Flanders⁷⁸.

It is dis-
 avowed
 by James.

If any thing could have saved James from his
 impending fate, it was this declaration. The
 confidential friends of William heard it with
 feelings of shame and dismay, and a messenger
 was despatched to recal him from Minden, where
 he was in close consultation with his German
 allies. But the English king proved his own
 enemy. He was not yet convinced that the
 armaments in Holland were designed against
 himself⁷⁹: his pride was offended that Louis

⁷⁸ “ Sa majesté m’a commandé de vous déclarer de sa part que
 les liaisons d’amitié et d’alliance qu’elle a avec le roi de la G. B.
 l’oblige non seulement à le secourir, mais encore à regarder comme
 une infraction manifeste de la paix et comme une rupture ouverte
 contre sa couronne le premier acte d’hostilité, qui se fera par vos
 troupes, ou vos vaisseaux, contre sa majesté Britannique.” See
 also the letters of Louis to d’Avaux, 2 Sept., and Barillon, 3 Sept.

⁷⁹ Though Louis repeatedly complained of the supineness, the

without solicitation should take him under protection as if he were a petty prince of the empire, and he feared that the bold but unfounded assertion of d'Avaux would persuade his subjects that he had entered into a secret alliance with France, a charge which he had always denied. To add to his embarrassment Van Citters, the Dutch, and Ronquillo, the Spanish, ambassadors complained of the deception which had been practised upon them, asked for some explanation of the secret treaties between the two kings, and justified the armaments in Holland from the danger to which the States were exposed by the union of James with their inveterate foe, the French monarch. The king replied with warmth that he was not a cardinal of Furstemberg, to seek protection under the wings of a foreign prince; that from the commencement of his reign to that hour he had entered into no engagement whatever with Louis, and that Skelton had acted without instructions, and should suffer for his

“lethargy” of his English brother, James persisted in thinking that the preparations in Holland were in reality designed against France. That he was wrong the event has proved: but we are not to condemn him too severely; for Louis himself was, at times at least, of the same opinion. That monarch, in a letter to d'Avaux of the 30th Sept. N. S., expresses his doubts on the subject, and in a second of Oct. 7, his conviction that the preparations are designed against himself. He had that morning resolved to declare war, but something had since happened to raise new doubts, and he would therefore wait the event.... “il n’y a plus qu’à attendre l’événement.” This appears to me to be the real meaning of his letter.

CHAP. presumption. In effect, he recalled that minister,
 II. and committed him to the Tower ⁸⁰.
 1688.

Sept. 17. But what, it may be asked, was the real object
 of Louis: the safety of the English king, or
 some private interest of his own? If we consider
 Louis makes war on the empire.
 that he had even then determined to make war
 on the emperor, that his plan of operations was
 already arranged, and that his numerous forces
 were already put in motion, it will not be unfair
 to suspect that he chiefly sought under the cover
 of this declaration to conceal his real purpose
 from the knowledge of the neighbouring powers.
 Within a fortnight the mask was thrown away.
 The French armies hastened from every quarter
 towards the Rhine; Philipsburgh was invested
 Sept. 14. by the dauphin, and war was proclaimed against
 the emperor and empire, with an intimation that
 the king still intended to observe the peace with
 Holland, and the truce of twenty years with
 Spain. Never was intelligence more welcome to
 the prince of Orange. The removal of the
 French force and the pacific intimation of Louis
 left him at liberty to pursue his own design
 against James; and the relief afforded to the
 anxiety of the Hollanders was manifested by an
 immediate rise of ten per cent. in the price of the
 public securities ⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Barillon, 16, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 30 Sept. D'Avaux, 18, 23, 24, 27 Sept.

⁸¹ Dumont, vii. par. 11. 160. D'Avaux, 27 Sept.; 7 Oct. Barillon, 25 Sept. Burnet, iii. 284. *Negociations de d'Avaux*, vi.

In England the effect was very different. A new light burst on the affrighted monarch, who at last saw the danger which threatened him, in all its magnitude and proximity. The friendship of Louis had proved a broken reed; and the security, which he derived from the position of the French force on the Dutch frontier, had unexpectedly vanished. 1. The council assembled, and orders were sent to Albeville to assure the States that no treaty existed between England and France but such as had been published; that James looked on the siege of Philipsburgh as a violation of the truce of twenty years, and that he was ready, as guarantee of that truce and of the peace of Nimeguen, to join his forces with those of Spain and the States for the preservation of the peace of Europe⁸². It was hoped that this overture would operate as a lure on the States and their allies, that it would lead at least to delay and negociation, and would deter the Dutch government from lending their naval and military force to the prince, when every national object might thus be obtained with less danger

CHAP
II.
1688.

Jam.
wishes to
conciliate
the States.

Sept 25

134, 137. To that minister Louis excuses his conduct in these words: "Je ne doute pas que la prise des principales places de Flandres n'eut donné plus d'apprehension aux Etats généraux que celle de Philisburg. . . . mais la nécessité de prévenir les mauvais desseins de la cour de Vienne ne m'a pas laissé d'autre parti à choisir que celui que j'ai pris." 14 Oct. In another letter to Barillon he enters into more particulars. 13 Oct.

⁸² Memoire présenté par le marquis d'Albyville du 5 Oct. D'Avaux, 5, 7 Oct. Barillon, 3, 7 Oct. Kennet, 489.

CHAP. and at a cheaper rate. Eight days elapsed before
 II. an answer was returned, during which William
 1688. visited the deputies separately, explained to them
 his views and resources, and prevailed on them
 to believe that his intended expedition was necessary for the safety of their religion, and the
 independence of their country. At last a formal
 reply was made, at once illusory and insulting;
 illusory as it took no notice of the offer put
 forward by James, and insulting in as much as it
 intimated an inclination on the part of the States
 to restore confidence between the king and his
 subjects by procuring security for the religion
 and liberties of the English nation⁸³.

Makes
 concessions to
 his subjects.

2. But James did not wait for this answer. The impolicy of his past misrule now flashed on his mind; he hastened to repair his former errors, and hoped by retracing his steps to recover the confidence of his subjects. Scarcely a day passed which was not marked by some new concession, granted with apparent cheerfulness, but in reality wrung from him by the necessity of his situation.

Sept. 22. He condescended to solicit the advice and aid of the bishops, whom he had so lately prosecuted;

Sept. 26. he ordered the deputy-lieutenants and the magistrates, who had been removed for their answers to the three questions, to be immediately restored;

Sept. 28. he announced by proclamation, the design of invasion by the prince of Orange, his own inten-

⁸³ Resolution des Etats du 14 Oct. D'Avaux, 14, 18 Oct.

tion of refusing foreign assistance, and of relying CHAP.
 on the loyalty of his people, and the necessity of II.
 revoking in such circumstances the writs which he 1688.
 had issued for the meeting of parliament in No-
 vember; the bishop of London was restored to Sept. 30.
 the exercise of his episcopal jurisdiction; at the
 suggestion of Jeffreys the old charter was given Oct. 2.
 back to the city; the advice offered by the prelates Oct. 3.
 under ten heads was graciously and thankfully
 received⁸⁴: the dissolution of the ecclesiastical Oct. 5.
 commission was followed by the restoration of Oct. 12.
 Dr. Hough and the fellows of Magdalen college⁸⁵;
 the cities and boroughs recovered their ancient Oct. 17.
 privileges, and a general pardon was published
 with the exception by name of certain persons,
 almost all of whom were actually serving under
 the prince of Orange. These were concessions of
 great importance; particularly that which, by
 restoring the election of representatives to those

⁸⁴ Of these ten heads, the following were not immediately adopted. That he should recal all dispensations, should forbid catholics to teach schools, should inhibit the Romish bishops from farther invasion of episcopal jurisdiction, should fill the vacant bishoprics, and above all should allow the prelates to offer to him such arguments as might lead him back to the established church.

⁸⁵ As some delay took place, a report was circulated, ascribing it to a change in the royal purpose, on account of the arrival of good news from Holland. Many from that moment refused to place any faith in the king's word; but James assured the archbishop that the delay was owing entirely to the negligence of the bishop of Winchester. (Clar. Corresp. ii. 493.) That such was the case, appears from Macpherson's Orig. Pap. i. 271—274. Sydney College was also restored. Jam. ii. 190.

CHAP. persons in whom it formerly resided, took away
 II. the chief pretext set forward by William, the
 1688. necessity of procuring a free parliament. A deputation from the citizens waited on the king to express their gratitude, and the recovery of the charter was celebrated with the usual demonstrations of public joy: the dukes of Somerset, Ormond, and Newcastle, the marquess of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Nottingham, and Danby, the bishop of London, and several others, either in person or by letter, assured him of their fidelity and services; and the prelates adopted a general form of prayer for the safety and prosperity of the royal family. His enemies, however, were careful to inform the people, that it was not to James but to the prince that they owed the benefit of these concessions, a benefit which would not be of long continuance, if it were left to depend on the pleasure of the king: it had been extorted from him by fear, it would be resumed on the return of confidence⁸⁵.

Augments
 his forces.

3. At the same time James made every exertion to augment his naval and military force. He gave the command of the fleet, which consisted of thirty-seven men-of-war and seventeen fire-ships, to the earl of Dartmouth, an old and trusty adherent, with instructions to station himself off the Gun-fleet, to watch the motions of the enemy,

⁸⁵ Gazette, 2384, et seq. Clarendon's Diary, 190. Bishop of Rochester's Second Letter, 30—44. Echard, 1113. Kennet, 489—491. Barillon, 4, 14, 18, 25, 28 Oct.; 1 Nov.

and to aim chiefly at the destruction of the transports. The army, by the levy of new regiments and independent companies, and the arrival of six thousand five hundred men in detachments from Scotland and Ireland, was raised to the amount of forty thousand men⁸⁷. The command was taken by lord Feversham, the same who had opposed the duke of Monmouth, aided by his brother, the count de Roze, an officer of greater talent, and longer experience. The fleet was much inferior to that of the prince, but the king believed that he might rely with confidence on the devotion of the sailors: in military force he was plainly superior, but all acknowledged that the fidelity of both officers and men was very problematical.

In the meanwhile it had been determined in the councils of William to rest the defence of the intended expedition on two grounds, the necessity of inquiring into the birth of the nominal prince of Wales, that the descent of the crown might be preserved in the royal family, and of procuring a free parliament that an end might be put to the dissension between the king and the people. With this view was published a long and bitter invective against James in the form of a memorial supposed to be presented by the protestants of England

CHAP.
II.
1688.
—

Pretended
memorial
to the
prince.

⁸⁷ On the 19th of August it consisted of thirteen regiments of cavalry and nineteen of infantry, or six thousand and fifty horse, and thirteen thousand four hundred and twenty foot. The regular force in Ireland amounted to seven thousand and sixty, in Scotland to two thousand three hundred and sixteen men.

CHAP. to the States, but composed under that name at
II.
1688. the Hague by Dr. Burnet⁸⁸, who seems to have
— readily sacrificed the interests of truth to the
pleasure of his patron and the gratification of his
revenge. It begins with a copious enumeration
of the liberties confirmed by law to the freemen of
England, and of the instances in which they had
been violated by the despotism of James. It then
maintains that the right of succession must for
the sake of public tranquillity be placed beyond
the reach of suspicion; that it is the duty of the
reigning prince to establish by convincing evi-
dence the pregnancy of his wife and the birth of
his children, not by the testimony of servants, or
physicians, or men holding office at pleasure, but
of persons interested in the succession, or indivi-
duals having nothing to hope or fear from the
friendship or enmity of the monarch. This is
prescribed by law, and reason and custom: where
it is observed, no fraud can be practised; where
it is neglected fraud may be inferred. It next
strings together a multitude of circumstances
regarding the birth of the prince, some real, many
fictitious, which accord not with the preceding
doctrine, and from them it draws a strong pre-
sumption that the queen's pregnancy was a pr-
tence, and her delivery an imposture. In con-
clusion the supposed memorialists are made to

⁸⁸ Personne ne doute que ce ne soit le docteur Burnet qui n'ait redigé ce mémoire. D'Avaux, 1 Nov.

pray that William would take under his protection the rights of the crown and of the people, and that he would not suffer the claim of his wife to be set aside without inquiry, nor the liberties of the nation to be sacrificed to popery and arbitrary power. So much importance was attached to this false and insidious publication, that the prince took with him eighty thousand copies to England⁸⁹.

With this memorial were also printed two declarations, addressed in the name of the prince to the people of England and Scotland. Assuming that his interest in their welfare imposes on him the duty of protecting their civil and religious liberties, he describes the despotism under which they groan, the injuries offered to the protestant church, and his suspicion of imposture in the birth of the prince. To the Scots he declares his intention of establishing their rights and religion by parliament on so firm a basis that they may stand unimpaired for ever; to the English that, if he come with an armed force, it is only for the protection of his own person; that his object is to obtain a free parliament by the restoration of the ancient charters, and the re-appointment of the former magistrates, and then to refer to that parliament the inquiry into the legitimacy of the prince, the redress of grievances, the security of the protestant religion, the comprehension of dis-

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Two de-
clarations
by the
prince.
Oct. 1.

⁸⁹ Dumont, vii. par. 11. p. 179—198. D'Avaux, 28 Oct.

CHAP. senters within the pale of the church, and the protection and tranquillity of all other religionists, willing to live as good subjects in due obedience to the laws⁹⁰.

His letter
to the em-
peror and
king of
Spain

Oct. 16.

But, besides the people of England and Scotland, there remained others, whom it was incumbent on him to persuade of the rectitude of his intentions, the catholic princes his allies, who might be provoked to withdraw from the confederacy, if they found that he abused the benefit of their friendship to undertake a crusade for the dethronement of a catholic sovereign on account of his religion. He wrote to the emperor and the king of Spain, informing them that his voyage to England was undertaken at the request of the English nobility, and for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the king and his subjects; that he should take with him a small military force, both infantry and cavalry, but solely for the protection of his person; that he had no intention of offering injury to the king or the rightful heirs, much less of advancing any claim to the throne, or of

⁹⁰ Dumont, *ibid.* 198—205. Several draughts of a declaration had been sent from England, out of which one was composed by Fagel, and afterwards amended by Burnet. Burnet, *iii.* 286. A fortnight later it was known that the king by his concessions had anticipated the demands of the prince, and on Oct. 14th, a postscript was added, stating that James had not disclaimed his pretensions to arbitrary power, and would revoke these concessions whenever he dared: the only remedy was a declaration of the rights of the subject; wherefore William would leave all things to the decision of a free parliament.

occupying it himself; that he hoped by establishing the rights and religion of the people on their former basis, to restore tranquillity, and enable the British nation to concur in the common cause of Christendom; and that, in his attempt to effect this object, he would employ all his credit and authority to secure to the English catholics liberty of conscience, and freedom from persecution⁹¹.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Such pretences might impose on the ignorance of monarchs living at a distance: but it required no small share of credulity in persons residing on the spot, with the evidence of such mighty preparations before their eyes, to believe that the prince confined his views to the disinterested task of mediating between James and his subjects: yet the States-General were seduced to give to the falsehood the sanction of their authority, and in a circular letter, transmitted to all the foreign envoys at the Hague, with the exception of d'Avaux and d'Albeville, they stated that a well grounded apprehension of the hostility of the king of England, should he succeed in trampling down the liberties of his people, had led them to assent to the request of the prince of Orange, and to lend him a few ships and men as auxiliaries, being assured that he had no design of invading the realm, or of dethroning his uncle, or

Circular
from the
States.

Oct. 16.

⁹¹ Dalrymple, 255. Neg. du comte d'Avaux, vi. 157, vol. 147. Supplément à la Correspondence de M. d'Avaux.

CHAP. of persecuting the catholics, but only of procuring
 II. a free parliament, in which liberty and religion
 1688. might be secured by just and salutary laws ⁹².

The force of the expedition. William had originally fixed on the first full moon after the equinox for the sailing of the expedition. Having reviewed the army near Nimeguen, he ordered one portion to fall down the river to Rotterdam, and the other to follow the course of the Yssel to Campen. The canals and rivers were immediately covered with craft of every description, and boats carrying men, horses, arms, and ammunition poured from every outlet, and hastened to the two great divisions of the fleet in Zuider Zee, and the mouth of the Meuse. When these had united they formed an armament worthy of the splendid prize to which the adventurer covertly aspired. Sixty men-of-war took under their protection seven hundred sail of transports: the force which he had collected, "solely for the protection of his person," amounted to four thousand five hundred cavalry and eleven thousand infantry; and an immense supply of military equipments revealed his expectation of a numerous reinforcement. He also took with him marshal Schomberg, the count of Nassau, the count of Solms, general Ginkle, and the best officers in the Dutch service; the earl of Macclesfield, Burnet, Peyton, Wildman, Ferguson, and the other British exiles; eight

⁹² Dumont, vii. part ii. 208.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

hundred French refugees, and the many Englishmen, who had recently come to join him in Holland. Of the latter the most distinguished were the earl of Shrewsbury, who, having raised 40,000*l.* on mortgage, had offered the money with his sword to the prince, lord Wiltshire and his brother, sons of the marquess of Winchester, the lord Eland, son to the marquess of Halifax, lord Dunblain, son to the earl of Danby, the lords Lorn and Mordaunt, and the two naval officers Herbert and Russell.

It chanced, however, that a few days before the appointed time a strong wind arose, veered from south to west, and blew with such violence that the fleet, which had put to sea under the command of Herbert, was compelled to seek shelter at Helvoetsluys. The States ordered public prayers for more favourable weather; but though the churches were crowded with suplicants, heaven appeared deaf to their petitions. For more than a fortnight the storm continued to rage with the exception of a few short intermissions: by the soldiers and mariners its duration was deemed a proof of the divine displeasure; and to check the spread of this superstitious but dangerous alarm, it was found necessary to prohibit under severe penalties the use of ominous or discouraging language⁹³. At last the Oct. 13.

The
prince
takes
leave of
the States.
Sept. 28.

⁹³ D'Avaux, 8, 11, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22 Oct. Negotiations. vi. 142, 150.

CHAP. violence of the wind abated, and William took
II. leave of the States in a solemn and public audi-
1688. — ence. He thanked them for their kindness to
Oct. 15. him from his childhood, and assured them of his
gratitude. Their confidence in him at the present
time was unbounded; and he prayed that God
might blast all his projects if he did not make
them an adequate return. He was departing on
a foreign expedition, not to dispossess others of
their rights, but to establish religion on a secure
and permanent basis. Whatever might be his
fate, he recommended the princess to their pro-
tection; and of this he prayed them to be as-
sured, that if he fell, he should fall their servant,
and if he lived, he would live their friend. The
task of answering him was committed to his
trusty adherent, the pensionary Fagel, whom
age and infirmities had brought to the brink of
the grave. The States, he replied (such confi-
dence did they repose in the wisdom and pa-
triotism of the prince), had placed their army,
their navy, and their treasure in his hands; they
had ordered a solemn fast to be observed through
the seven provinces for the success of his arms;
and they earnestly prayed that God would render
him the deliverer and protector of the protestant
faith. One thing only they begged of him in
return, that he would not unnecessarily expose
his person. The loss of him would be to them a
greater calamity than the loss of both army and
navy. At these words the old man burst into

tears, and his emotion impeded his utterance. On the spectators the scene made a deep impression : but the prince exhibited no change of countenance. His friends affected to admire his firmness and magnanimity ; others charged him with a selfish apathy, an indifference to every object except his own interest ⁹⁴.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

The fast day was celebrated at the Hague with extraordinary solemnity, and the service, of three long sermons, separated by prayers of equal duration, was protracted from ten and a half in the morning till half-past seven in the afternoon. During the whole time the princess attended in the great church, and bore without shrinking the gaze of an immense multitude. Her's, indeed, was a most singular situation. She could not pray for the success of her husband, without praying for the dethronement of her father. But, whatever passed within her breast, whether she looked with sorrow on the calamities which threatened her parent, or flattered her own vanity with the near prospect of a crown, she was able to disguise her feelings. Mary listened to the preachers, and joined in the prayers, with as much apparent tranquillity as if she alone had nothing to hope or fear from the result ⁹⁵.

A solemn
fast.
Oct. 17.

⁹⁴ D'Avaux, 28 Oct. *Negociations*, vi. 153. *Ellis Correspondence*, ii. 251. *Burnet*, iii. 297.

⁹⁵ D'Avaux, *ibid.* The Spanish ambassador ordered a solemn high mass to be performed in his chapel for the same object. *Ibid.*

CHAP. On the morning of the 19th of October the
 II. expedition sailed from Helvoetsluys, the men-of-
 1688. war in three divisions forming a line out at sea,

He sails
 and is
 driven
 back.
 Oct. 19.

and the transports taking their allotted stations between that line and the shore. It blew a steady breeze from the south-west; scarcely a cloud obscured the heavens; and, as the fleet passed by Scheveling towards the north, the whole population of the Hague rushed to the shore, to view the proud and animating spectacle. Little did William anticipate the contrast exhibited on the following day. It was his intention to proceed to a certain distance, and then alter his course for the coast of Yorkshire, where he was expected by the earl of Danby; but about ten in the evening the wind suddenly changed to the west, and by midnight the storm had dispersed the fleet in every direction,

Oct. 20.

The next morning the prince regained his former anchorage with about sixty sail: of the others some rode out the tempest, while the rest sought shelter in the different roads and havens. When, however, the extent of the loss could be ascertained, it proved much less than had been expected. Only a few ships had foundered; but all were damaged, a thousand horses had perished through want of air, and an immense quantity of stores had been damaged or thrown overboard. William immediately solicited fresh supplies from the States; but refused to quit the fleet, urging the repairs by his own presence, and restraining by his authority the spirit of disaffection and mutiny,

which began to manifest itself among the military⁹⁶. CHAP.
II.
1688.

This event afforded a new respite to James. Many of his friends had complained, many had even considered it as a proof of treachery in his advisers, that during the preceding period of suspense and suspicion, no care had been taken to interrupt the communication between the discontented in England and the prince in Holland. Even now that their object was openly avowed, that the individuals in the secret were pointed out by public report, they were neither molested nor restrained. In former times, on the first apprehension of the arrival of a foreign enemy, it had been the practice to require from suspected persons security for their loyalty, or to commit them to safe custody: but, in defiance of the strong remonstrances of Melfort, James was dissuaded from following the precedent by Sunderland, who maintained that such arrests would be productive of little benefit, and yet add considerably to the public discontent. The only precaution which the king condescended to take was one which cost his pride a severe struggle, but which he deemed necessary to refute the charge made in the pretended memorial of the English protestants, and to place the birth of his son beyond the reach of

The king
proves the
birth of
his son.

⁹⁶ D'Avaux, 1, 2, 4, 8, 9 Nov. See also "An exact Diary of the late Expedition by a Minister, Chaplain in the Army. London, 1689." The minister's description of this storm is sufficiently ludicrous.

CHAP. cavil in the event of his own death. By his order
 II. the privy council, the peers residing in the vicinity
 1688. — of the capital, the judges, the lord mayor and
 aldermen, and the law officers of the crown, were
 summoned to Whitehall; and before them he
 introduced, for the purpose of detailing the parti-
 culars of the queen's delivery, every person present
 on that occasion, namely, the queen dowager,
 two-and-twenty females, some of them menial
 servants, others ladies of the highest rank, and
 nineteen noblemen, gentlemen, and physicians.
 The depositions of all, with the exception of the
 queen dowager, were taken upon oath, confirmed
 by them the next day, and enrolled in Chancery;
 and formed altogether a mass of evidence which it
 is impossible for any unprejudiced mind to resist⁹⁷.
 The enemies of the king, however, were not slow
 to object, that the person the most interested in
 the succession, the princess Anne, had not been
 present either at the delivery or at the investiga-
 tion: but the fact is, that her absence on both
 occasions had been of her own choice: she had
 gone to Bath that she might not assist at the birth,
 and had refused to attend the council under the
 pretended fear of a miscarriage. On this account
 the council waited on her with a copy of the evi-
 dence, to whom she replied, "My lords, this was
 not necessary: the king's word is more to me

⁹⁷ Barillon, 1, 11 Nov. "The several declarations, &c. made in council on Monday, Oct. 22, 1688, concerning the birth of the prince of Wales." James, ii. 196—203. Clarendon's Diary, 196.

than all these depositions :” and yet we are assured by her uncle, Clarendon, that she was at that very time in the daily habit of making the birth of her brother a subject of doubt and sarcasm⁹⁸.

This was the last measure which marked the administration of Sunderland. His reign, as well as that of his supporter, father Petre, was at an end. The charges of perfidy, formerly made against him, he had successfully rebutted by his protestations and reasoning : and by his open profession of the catholic faith on the birth of the prince, he had fixed himself more firmly than ever in the confidence of James, who believed that by this step the minister had bound up his own fortune with that of his sovereign⁹⁹. But his oppo-

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Removes
Sunder-
land from
office.

⁹⁸ “*Mad. la princesse de Danemark n'étoit pas à l'accouchement de la reine d'A. elle étoit encore aux bains. C'est une faute qu'on a faite en ce temps là de ne l'avoir pas empêchée d'y aller. Je sais qu'on lui a insinué de venir déposer de la grossesse de la reine, mais elle s'en est excusée sur ce qu'elle n'ose sortir de sa chambre de peur de se blesser, croyant elle même être grosse. Cette excuse est une affectation pour ne se point expliquer sur une matière si importante. La vérité est qu'elle favorise le parti du P. d'Orange, autant qu'elle l'ose faire, sans se déclarer ouvertement : et je sais que jusqu'à présent elle n'a pas dit un mot au roi, ou à la reine sur l'entreprise du P. d'Orange, quoiqu'ils en aient souvent parlé en sa présence.*” Barillon, 4 Nov. That Barillon was correct is evident from the diary of Clarendon, in which we find that, as often as he wished to talk with her on public affairs, she evaded the subject. (Diary, Sep. 23, 27, 29 ; Oct. 21, 23.) As to her excuse of pregnancy, it was a falsehood, as her husband the prince George told Clarendon. “This startled me,” he says ; “good God, bless us ! nothing but lying and dissimulation in the world.” Diary, p. 216.

⁹⁹ Barillon, 8 Juillet. “Ce que vient de faire ce ministre donne

CHAP. nents continued to cherish the same suspicion of
 II.
 1688. his fidelity, and the same objections to his policy ;

-
- and they took advantage of this season of alarm to represent to the king that the counsels which had brought his throne into danger originally emanated from Sunderland, and from Petre the dupe of Sunderland, from the one through considerations of interest, if not of treachery, from the other through credulity and religious zeal ; that all their promises and predictions had been falsified by the course of events ; that the presence of Petre at his councils still shocked the feelings of his protestant subjects, and that the confidence which he reposed in a minister generally reputed a traitor, chilled the ardour, and paralyzed the efforts, of his
- Oct. 22. most devoted adherents. Overcome by their importunity James declared that Petre should from that day cease to take his place at the board, and
- Oct. 27. soon afterwards sent for the seals of office from Sunderland, not, he assured him, from any doubt of his loyalty, but through the necessity of complying with the demands of others. Petre obeyed, but still remained at Whitehall in his post of clerk of the closet ; Sunderland withdrew to Windsor, apparently mortified at his disgrace, but probably consoling himself with the hope that what had caused his removal from the councils of

un nouvel éclat à sa faveur, et augmente beaucoup, son crédit... il a voulu fermer la bouche à ses ennemis, et leur ôter tout prétexte de dire, qu'il put entrer quelque ménagement dans sa conduite pour le parti de M. le P. d'Orange." Ibid.

the king, would operate as a proof of merit in the estimation of the prince¹⁰⁰.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

To Sunderland, as secretary for the southern department, succeeded the earl of Middleton, and to Middleton, as secretary for the northern department the lord Preston, both protestants, known to be strongly attached to the person of the king, and as warmly opposed to the reckless, headlong course which he had previously pursued. Their first advice was that he should prepare an answer to William's declaration, and with that view should call upon the peers and prelates in the capital, to admit or deny the truth of the passage which stated, that the prince "had been invited to England by divers lords both spiritual and temporal." Among others Halifax, Nottingham, Clarendon, Pembroke, and Burlington declared on their honour that they were ignorant of any such invitation: and it is probable that they could make the assertion with truth; for, though all had corresponded with the prince, and though the two first were deeply engaged in his interest, yet none of them enjoyed the confidence of his more trusty associates. Of the prelates, the archbishop, with the bishops of Durham, Chester, and St. David's, returned an express denial; but the bishop of London, whose name is subscribed to the original invitation, replied in more evasive language, "I am confident the rest

Is refused
the aid of
the bi-
shops.

Nov. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Barillon, 6, 9 Nov. James, ii. 203, 4. See note (D).

CHAP. of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself.”¹ Whether the king noticed the
 II. subterfuge is uncertain: but it was his interest
 1688. —————
 Nov. 2. to take it in a favourable sense; and he requested to have the denial in writing, that he might send it for signature to the other prelates, adding that it would be well to add also their disapprobation of the expedition itself. This unexpected demand disconcerted them: they were not prepared; they asked time to consult together, and though James sought by messages to quicken their tardiness, did not return with their answer, before it was known
 Nov. 6. that the Dutch fleet had passed the straits of Dover, and was actually steering down the Channel. Then they begged to be excused; but their reasons were too weak, too unsatisfactory to disguise their real motive, either a secret approbation of the design, or a fear of incurring the displeasure of the prince. James could not control his feelings. “If ever,” says the bishop of Rochester, “in all my life I saw him more than ordinary vehement in speech, and transported in his expressions, it was on this occasion”.²

William had again sailed from Helvoetsluys in

¹ See Clar. Corresp. 11. App. 494, 503.

² See Clar. Diary, 199—201. Clar. Cor. 11. App. 493—504. Bishop of Rochester’s Second Letter, 44—49. James (Memoirs), 210, 211. Macpherson, Papers, i. 276—279. The archbishop, however, sent an answer under his own hand “that he had never invited the prince by word, writing, or otherwise, nor did he know, nor could he believe, that any of the other bishops had done so.” Ibid.

pursuit of the English crown. By friends and CHAP.
foes it was believed that he intended to land on II.
the coast of Yorkshire: but, having steered for 1688.
twelve hours to the north, he changed his
course, and availing himself of a favourable The
wind, passed without opposition the royal fleet prince ar-
in the Downs, and in two days reached rives in
Torbay, his real destination³. James was sur- Torbay.
prised and confounded: he had relied on the Nov. 1.
zeal and promptitude of lord Dartmouth, and was Nov. 3.
at a loss to account for the inactivity of that Nov. 5.
officer. But the same wind, which was favourable
to the prince, was adverse to Dartmouth. His
cruisers had been driven back by the violence of
the gale; and his fleet, having been compelled to
strike the yards and topmasts, rode at anchor
abreast of the Long-sand, at the very time when
the hostile armament passed at the distance of a
few miles. Twenty-four hours elapsed before he
could commence the pursuit, and from that he
afterwards desisted on the representation of his
officers, that to attack the Dutch, after the
transports were safe in harbour, would expose the
fleet to destruction in an unequal contest. By
many of the royalists the tardiness of the admiral
was attributed to disaffection or fear: but James,
though doubts and misgivings harassed his mind,
was too just to condemn an old friend without
hearing his defence, and too prudent to hint sus-
picion, when that hint might provoke the very

³ Exact Diary, 28—38. Burnet, iii. 309.

CHAP. II.
1688. disloyalty, which he feared. He assured Dartmouth that he acquitted him of all blame: every seaman must be convinced that he had done as much as man could do in opposition to wind and weather; all that remained was for him to be constantly on the watch, and to avail himself of every advantage which accident might offer⁴.

The king's
counsels.

To oppose the prince by land he resolved to collect his army in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. Louis by repeated messages had advised him to march in person, and to offer battle to the invaders, a measure which, by bringing the contest to an issue before the spirit of disaffection had spread among his troops, might perhaps have saved him his crown. The earl of Feversham and the count de Roze disapproved of this counsel, and urged him to occupy a situation, at a less distance from London, so that he might watch the motions of the enemy without losing sight of the capital⁵. On the other hand father Petre conjured him not to leave Westminster. This was the great error committed by his father, an error which cost him both his crown and his life. Let him look at the state of the metropolis: his presence did not prevent the populace from demolishing the catholic

⁴ Dalrymple, 314, 315, 319—325. James (Memoirs), ii. 206, 207.

⁵ They did not deem the English army equal to a contest with veteran soldiers. "On ignore ici jusqu'aux moindres règles de la guerre: et hors quelques officiers qui ont servi en France et Hollande, le reste n'a pas les premières teintures du métier de la guerre. Barillon, 9 Dec.

chapels: who then in his absence would answer CHAP.
for the lives of his wife and son? But Petre was II.
thought to speak from interested motives—for 1688.
the populace had repeatedly called for his blood—
and James, adhering to his own opinion, ordered
twenty battalions of infantry and thirty squadrons
of cavalry to march towards Salisbury and Marl-
borough. Six squadrons and six battalions were
left behind to maintain tranquillity in the capital⁶.

The prince, though he had been permitted to land without opposition, did not meet with the reception which he had been taught to expect. At his approach to Exeter the bishop and dean fled from the city; the clergy and corporation remained passive spectators of his entry; though the populace applauded, no addresses of congratulation, no public demonstrations of joy were made by the respectable citizens; the inhabitants of the county, who had not forgotten the terrible lesson taught them by Jeffreys, remained quiet at their homes, the canons refused to assist at the *Te Deum* ordered to be chaunted in the cathedral, and the very choristers, when Dr. Burnet began to read the declaration of the prince, withdrew from the church. Lord Lovelace, indeed, who had visited him in Holland, and returned before him to England, had collected a body of sixty or one hundred horsemen, with the intention of joining the army at Exeter, but he was attacked, defeated, and taken

Anxiety
of the
prince.
Nov. 8.

⁶ Barillon, 18, 22, 25 Nov.

CHAP. prisoner by the militia near Cirencester. William
 II.
 1688. was disappointed ; he complained that he had been
 ——— deceived and betrayed ; he threatened to re-em-
 bark, and leave his recreant associates to the ven-
 geance of their sovereign. Still, however, his
 hopes were kept alive by the successive arrivals of
 a few stragglers from a distance ; in a short time
 they were raised almost to assurance of success by
 the perfidy of lord Cornbury, son of the earl of
 Clarendon⁷.

Desertion
 of lord
 Cornbury.

Soon after the invitation sent to the prince, a
 secret association in his favour had been formed
 among the officers of the army encamped on
 Hounslow-heath, and a communication established
 between them and the club at the Rose tavern in
 Covent-garden, of which lord Colchester was the
 chairman. That lord Churchill, who held the rank
 of lieutenant-general, was acquainted with their
 counsels, can hardly be doubted. On the arrival
 of the prince in Torbay he stationed at Salisbury
 three regiments of cavalry, commanded, in the
 absence of their colonels, by three of the “ asso-
 ciated ” officers. Of these Cornbury was the
 senior ; and he, having arranged the plan with
 Nov. 10. his accomplices, and ordered the whole division
 to march at an early hour in the morning, led
 them by a circuitous and unfrequented route to
 Axminster, near the advanced posts of the in-

⁷ James (Memoirs), ii. 215. Burnet, iii. 313. Exact Diary,
 18. Ellis Correspond. ii. 295.

vading army. After a day's repose, the men were ordered to remount for the purpose of beating up the quarters of the enemy at Honiton during the night. But hints of the design had been whispered; Cornbury was requested to exhibit his orders; and on his refusal was so terrified by the threats of the loyal officers, that he stole away and escaped to the enemy, while his regiment, and that of the duke of Berwick, with the exception of thirty troopers, marched back to Salisbury. The third regiment, belonging to the duke of St. Alban's, had mustered at a distance; and the men, ignorant of this transaction, followed colonel Langston to Honiton, where they were received as friends by general Talmash at the head of a considerable force, and asked to enter into the service of the prince. Most of the officers and one hundred and fifty privates consented: the rest were made prisoners, but afterwards discharged^s.

To James the loss in number of men was considerable, and might speedily be repaired: there

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Nov. 12.

Its consequences.

^s This transaction is related with some trifling variations by major Norton in Macpherson's Papers (i. 289—296), by James himself in his Memoirs (ii. 215), and by Barillon in his despatches of Nov. 25, 26, and Dec. 1. "O God!" exclaims Clarendon in his Diary, "that my son should be a rebel! The Lord in his mercy look upon me, and enable me to support myself under this most grievous calamity." He waited on James the next day. "God knows," he says, "I was in confusion enough. The king was very gracious to me, and said he pitied me with all his heart, and that he would still be kind to my family." Many,

CHAP. was even much to encourage him in the spirit of
 II. loyalty displayed by the majority of the officers
 1688. and privates; but the example was productive of
 the most disastrous consequences. It spread doubt
 and distrust through the army, no man daring to
 rely on the fidelity of his companion; it shook
 the loyalty of the wavering, and it weakened or
 dissolved the only tie which had hitherto re-
 strained many, the disgrace of being the first to
 desert the royal colours. The report soon reached
 every corner of the kingdom: it was said that
 three regiments, then that several entire corps,
 had gone over to the enemy, and that the whole
 army was actuated by the same spirit of disaffec-
 tion: the friends of the prince, relieved from
 their terrors, began to exert themselves in his
 favour; and the earl of Danby, with the lord
 Lumley, called together their associates and de-
 pendents in Yorkshire, the lords Delamere and
 Brandon imitated him in Cheshire, and the earl
 of Devonshire raised the standard of insurrection
 in the midland counties.

The king
 holds a
 council of
 war.

On the other hand the king's advisers, in de-
 spair of success, conjured him to seek an accom-
 modation with his nephew, and to prevent at any
 price the total subversion of his throne. But
 James refused to see what was evident to all

however, did not think of him as favourably as James. "Myl.
 Clarendon, son père, parle de lui comme d'un traître et d'un in-
 fame: mais peu de gens croient qu'il ait osé faire de son chef ce
 qu'il a fait, sans la participation de son père." Barillon, 26 Dec

besides himself: he still believed in the loyalty of the army, and was confirmed in this confidence by the number of those who had returned to their colours out of the three regiments⁹. In a military council at Whitehall he informed the members that he had taken measures for the calling of a parliament as early as was possible, with the intention of making every concession that might be demanded; that he could not believe there were many Cornburys among such honourable men; but if any one felt an objection to his service, he would spare him the infamy of so foul a desertion, and give him full liberty at that moment to leave the army, and to go wherever he pleased. They replied with protestations of the warmest attachment, and declarations of their readiness to shed their blood in his cause. It was observed that the duke of Grafton and the lord Churchill were the first to answer in this manner; and yet there is reason to believe that with such expressions of loyalty on their lips they at that very moment meditated treachery in their hearts¹⁰.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Nov. 16.

Receives
a deputa-
tion from
the lords.
Nov. 17.

The next day, a few minutes before the king's departure, the archbishops of Canterbury and

⁹ Barillon, 25 Nov.

¹⁰ James (Memoirs), ii. 219. Orleans, 311. If we may believe Hewit, one of the supposed conspirators, Grafton and Churchill met their associates that very night to consult on the manner of betraying the king into the hands of the prince.

CHAP. York¹¹, with the bishops of Rochester and Ely,
 II.
 1688. solicited an audience, and delivered to him a
 ——— written address, subscribed by themselves, the
 dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the earls of
 Dorset, Clare, Rochester, Clarendon, Anglesey,
 and Burlington, viscount Newport, and the lords
 Paget, Chandos, and Ossulston. It humbly but
 earnestly requested the king to summon a free
 and legal parliament without delay, as the only
 expedient which in their opinion could preserve
 the nation from the calamities with which it was
 threatened. James replied with strong emotion,
 what you ask is what I passionately desire. I
 promise on the word of a king to call a legal
 parliament the moment the prince of Orange
 shall depart. But how can you have a free par-
 liament now, that a foreign prince, at the head
 of a foreign force, has it in his power to return
 one hundred members¹² ? ”

Escapes a
 conspi-
 racy at
 the camp.
 Nov. 20.

James proceeded to the army, reviewed that
 portion of it which lay at Salisbury, and ap-
 pointed the next day for the inspection of the
 division at Warminster under general Kirk. But

¹¹ Dr. Lamplugh, whom James for his loyalty had just trans-
 lated from Exeter to York.

¹² Echard, 1123. Ellis Correspondence, ii. 301. Barillon,
 27 Nov. See an account of this petition, which originated with
 the bishops, and which the duke of Norfolk, the marquess of
 Halifax, and the earls of Oxford and Nottingham, refused to
 sanction with their signatures, in Clarendon's Diary, 201—203,
 210.

he was prevented from executing this design by a profuse bleeding at the nose, which recurred at intervals on that and the following days; and procured him relief from some very alarming symptoms, the consequences of intense application and mental distress. During this short indisposition the count de Roye repeated his arguments against the advance of the army. The enemy were already at Wincanton: the royal artillery had not arrived; the positions of Salisbury and Warminster were untenable; and it was better to withdraw of his own free choice, than to incur the disgrace of a forced, and perhaps a disastrous, retreat. James still listened to him with reluctance: but his consent was extorted by information that, had he pursued his intention of inspecting the corps at Warminster, he would have been seized, and conveyed a prisoner to the enemy's quarters. The persons charged with this conspiracy were of high rank in the army, the lord Churchill, major-general Kirk, colonel Trelawney, and some others. James deemed it imprudent to take them into custody, or even to betray his information of the plot. He summoned them to a military council, in which he proposed the question of a retreat beyond the Thames. It was supported by Feversham, Dunbarton, and Roye, but warmly opposed by Churchill, who strongly urged the king to resume his design of visiting the post at Warminster. But James adhered to the resolution which he

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Dec. 22.

CHAP. had previously taken, the council broke up at
 11. midnight, and immediately the duke of Grafton
 1688. and Churchill went over to the enemy. They
 ——— were followed in the morning by the colonels
 Desertion of Graf- Trelawney, Churchill, Barclay, and about twenty
 ton and Churchill. privates. Kirk was arrested on suspicion by lord
 Dec. 23. Feversham: but he declared that though he had
 been unfortunate in the selection of his friends,
 he was incapable of imitating their baseness, and
 the king, who perhaps believed his assertion,
 ordered him to be set at liberty. The deserters
 were graciously received by the prince, with the
 exception of Churchill, who heard from Schom-
 berg the severe remark, that he was the first man
 of the rank of lieutenant-general who had been
 known to run away from his colours ¹³.

¹³ James (Mem.), ii. 222, 223, 224, 225. Baril. 1, 4, 6, 9 Dec. Burnet, iii. 316. That James believed in the existence of the plot to carry him off is twice asserted by Barillon, but we have no knowledge on what authority that belief was founded. Macpherson has published from Carte's papers several accounts tending to prove that on the 16th of November, after the council of war, a meeting was held at the lodgings of Mr. Hatton Compton, in St. Alban's-street, in which it was determined not only to seize the king, but to put him to death if any attempt were made to rescue him. For this purpose Wood and Hewit (afterwards lord Hewit the supposed relator) were to discharge their pistols into the carriage, and Churchill, who would attend as lord in waiting, was to complete the business. (Macpher. i. 280—284.) It must be owned that these papers bear not sufficient proof of authenticity to establish so grave an accusation. But with respect to Churchill's previous engagements to the prince of Orange, there is a letter from him to William of the date of May 17, 1687, to satisfy him that "the princess of

The king, having ordered the infantry to repass the Thames and guard the bridges over the river, and having posted the cavalry under lord Fever-
 sham at Reading to consume the forage in the neighbourhood, commenced his journey towards London. He stopped the first evening at Andover, and invited his son-in-law, prince George of Denmark, to sup with him. Six days before, the princess Anne had pledged her word to William for the defection of her husband: but George indulged in habits of indolence, and lost the opportunity offered him at the departure of his Mentor, lord Churchill. He had, however, friends more active than himself: horses were already in waiting for him, when he left the royal table; he mounted with the duke of Or-

CHAP.
 II.
 1688.

Of prince
 George.

Nov. 24.

Denmark is safe in the trusting of him (Churchill)." Dalrymple, 191. And another of Aug. 4, 1688, in which he "puts his honour into the hands of his royal highness." (239.) Bourepaus, on June 4, 1687, says that Anne aime avec une passion demesurée madame Churchill, and that the king is persuaded that the prince of Orange avoit gagné madame Churchill pour persuader à cette princesse d'aller en Hollande. On the 21st of July, he adds, myl. Churchill, aimé et comblé de bienfaits du roi son maître, se ménage plus qu'aucun pour le P. d'Orange. That he promised to desert to the prince soon after the landing of the latter appears from Norton's narrative (Ibid. 293), and the letter of the princess Anne to William of Nov. 18. (Dalrymple, 333.) On the 21st Barillon writes to his sovereign that some of the superior officers, particularly Churchill, Grafton, Kirk, and Fenwick, appear discontent, and make use of discouraging language. He adds, "s'ils ne sont pas capables d'une trahison, on voit bien qu'ils ne combatteront pas de bon cœur, et toute l'armée le sait. Cela met les affaires du roi d'A. dans un grand peril."

CHAP. II. 1688. — mond, the lord Drumlanrig, and Mr. Boyle; and all four rode about midnight towards the nearest quarters of the enemy. The king received the news with an air of indifference. "What," said he, "is *est il possible* gone? Were he not my son-in-law, a single trooper would have been a greater loss." His defection, however, awakened uneasy thoughts in the royal breast: was the princess acquainted with the design, or could she intend to follow the example of her husband? James, indeed, hoped much from her filial piety, much from her gratitude—for he had always been to her a most indulgent parent, and had never molested her, never addressed a single word to her, on the subject of religion—yet aware of the influence which the Churchills exercised over her mind, he despatched an order to lord Middleton, to watch her motions, and to prevent her from quitting Whitehall: an order which the secretary through forgetfulness or incredulity, made no haste to enforce¹⁴.

And of the princess Anne. Nov. 25. Anne, the moment she heard of the evasion of the prince, sent for the bishop of London, to arrange with him a plan for her own escape.

¹⁴ James (Memoirs), ii. 224. Barillon, 5, 9 Dec. Clar. Corresp. ii. 208. Prince George was called "*est il possible*" from his constant habit of using those words. Le prince George, says Bonrepaus, ne se mêle de rien. Il n'est non plus fait mention de lui, que s'il n'était point au monde. Bonrep. 4 Juin, 1687. Both the prince and Churchill wrote to the king an apology for their desertion. See Kennet, 498.

After the family had retired to rest, she left her bed-chamber with lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley, descended a back-staircase, which had recently been put up for that very purpose, and found waiting at the gate a carriage, in which were the bishop and the earl of Dorset. She passed the night at the prelate's house in Aldersgate-street, hastened in the morning to Copt Hall, the seat of the earl, and proceeded thence to a meeting of the prince's adherents at Northampton. At Whitehall, the moment her absence was discovered, her domestics hastened to the queen's apartment, and clamourously demanded their mistress, while a crowd assembled in the street, vociferating that she had been murdered or carried away by the papists. In a short time the fact of her escape was known, and the tumult subsided. Soon afterwards the king arrived. On the receipt of the intelligence he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "God help me! my very children have forsaken me!"¹⁵

In the opinion of every man the royal cause was now hopeless. Dartmouth had written that he would answer for his own loyalty, but not for that of the fleet under his command; the Scottish guards, the corps on whose fidelity the king placed the firmest reliance, had expressed a

CHAP.
II.
1688.

The king's
cause is
desperate.

¹⁵ Clarendon's Diary, 207, 214, 216. Barillon, 6, 9 Dec. Lord Dorchester in notes to Burnet, ii. 318. Duchess of Marlborough's Apology, 10. James (Memoirs), ii. 226.

CHAP. reluctance to draw their swords against his oppo-
 II. nents ; Newcastle, York, Hull, Bristol, and Ply-
 1688. ——— mouth had been seized by the partisans of the
 prince, and numerous meetings had been held in
 York, Derby, and Nottingham, where resolutions
 had been carried in favour of a free parliament,
 and the support of the protestant religion. But
 the language of these resolutions was more alarm-
 ing to the king than their purport. "We own,"
 said the declaration from Nottingham, "that it is
 rebellion to resist our king that governs by law,
 but *he* was always accounted a tyrant that
 made *his* will the law. To resist such an one,
 we justly esteem it no rebellion, but a necessary
 defence." In this extremity he consulted his con-
 fidential advisers. One resolution he had taken;
 to provide in the first place for the safety of the
 queen and his son : for he had persuaded himself,
 from the past conduct of his opponents and
 more recent advices, that they deemed it of the
 first importance to take the life of the young
 prince¹⁶. The next question was, should *he* also
 withdraw, or keep his post to the last. The

He re-
 solves to
 send away
 his son.

¹⁶ "Tis my son they aim at, and tis my son I must endeavour to preserve." Dalrym. 326. Petre had advised this from the first landing of William, because the sending of the young prince to France seroit penser aux Anglais le plus sensés qu'ils s'engagent dans une guerre, qui peut durer pendant plusieurs générations, quand même le véritable héritier, et celui qui a le droit, seroit depossédé. Barillon, 25 Nov. Lord Melfort also claimed the merit of having given this advice. Macpherson, Papers, ii. 674.

earl of Melfort, and several other catholics CHAP.
 advised him to flee : were he out of the kingdom, II.
 his person would be safe ; he would still retain 1688.
 all his rights ; and the opportunity of recovering
 the crown would not be wanting to him, any more
 than it had to his predecessors in similar circum-
 stances. But the lord Belasyse with the two
 secretaries, and the lords Halifax and Godolphin
 earnestly advised him to remain. He had only
 to assent to the securities, which would be de-
 manded for the laws and religion of the country,
 and his person would be safe. His subjects,
 many of whom began to suspect the ambitious
 designs of the prince, would rally around the
 throne, and defend the monarch from violence.
 James himself, though he saw no prospect of
 success, felt ashamed to quit the crown without
 once drawing the sword ; and sometimes amused
 his desponding mind with dreams of victories to
 be gained in Scotland with the aid of the duke of
 Hamilton, or in Ireland at the head of the army
 formed by the earl of Tyrconnel ¹⁷.

It was, however, necessary that he should put Summons
 on a cheerful countenance, were it only to gain a great
 time for the escape of the infant prince. At his council.
 summons a great council of peers, forty in num- Nov. 28.
 ber, and all protestants, assembled at Whitehall.
 They spoke to him with freedom ; but it was
 observed, that Clarendon transgressed the bounds

¹⁷ Barillon, 11, 13 Dec.

CHAP. of decency, and employed language unfeeling and
 II. insulting. The sum of their advice, though they
 1688. — were far from being unanimous, was that, besides
 calling a parliament, the king should grant a pardon without any exceptions, should appoint commissioners to treat of an accommodation, and should immediately dismiss every catholic from his service. James assured them that he was not offended with any man on account of his freedom; that he certainly meant to call a parliament, but that some of their suggestions were of such importance, that no one could wonder, if he took a single night to deliberate. He was convinced that, though many had deserted him, many still remained to stand by him. Accident had saved him from the treachery of Churchill; and, as he had read the history of Richard II. he would take sufficient care not to fall into the hands of a nephew, who sought to place the crown on his own head¹⁸.

And a parliament.
 Nov. 30.

In a few days a proclamation appeared, stating that the king had ordered writs to be issued for the meeting of a parliament at the shortest date, the 15th of January; a pardon for all previous offences to be passed under the great seal; and commissioners to proceed immediately to the head quarters of the prince of Orange, but that, with respect to the dismissal of catholics from office, he

¹⁸ Clarendon's Diary, 209—211. Barillon, 9 Dec. James (Memoirs), ii. 238. Burnet, iii. 322.

would leave that question to the wisdom and decision of parliament. The fact was that he felt unwilling to deprive himself of their services before he had secured the retreat of his wife and son ; but, to satisfy the citizens, he removed sir Edward Hales from the command of the Tower, and substituted for him Skelton, whom he had so lately confined in that fortress ¹⁹.

Lord Dover had been appointed to the government of Portsmouth. In a few days the prince of Wales arrived in that town under the care of lord and lady Powis ; a yacht was ready to take him on board ; and lord Dartmouth, whose fleet lay at Spithead, received instructions to watch over his safety, and to facilitate his escape. But the very presence of the prince betrayed the royal secret ; and a body of “ associated ” officers represented to the admiral, the charge to which he would expose himself, and the evil which might befall the nation, if he should suffer the heir apparent to quit the kingdom. By this time at least, Dartmouth partook of that spirit of consternation, which pervaded all ranks of the royalists, and he returned an answer to the king conjuring him to recede from his intention, and excusing in humble and affectionate language his own disobedience. The unfortunate monarch had little time for deliberation ; the delay of a few

CHAP.
II.
1688.

The
young
prince
brought
from
Ports-
mouth.
Dec. 1.

Dec. 3.

¹⁹ James (Memoirs), ii. 237. Barillon, 9 Dec. Clarendon, Diary, 208.

CHAP. hours might place his son in the power of his
 II. enemies : and he sent orders for three regiments
 1688.

— to escort him in his return to the capital, while
 Dec. 6. Caryll, the queen's secretary, made arrangements
 with the count de Lauzun for his escape down
 the river²⁰.

King de- In the meantime much had occurred to per-
 termines suade the king, that there remained no other
 to leave chance of safety for himself, but the same which
 the king- he had chosen for his son. In accordance with
 dom.

Dec. 3. the advice of the great council he had sent three
 commissioners to the prince, the lords Halifax,
 Nottingham, and Godolphin : but William under
 different pretexts evaded the audience which they
 solicited, and at the same time urged forward the
 march of his army towards the capital. This

Dec. 6. was sufficiently discouraging : but in addition
 there appeared in London many copies of a pro-
 clamations lately issued under his signature, de-
 claring all papists bearing arms, or having arms
 in their houses, or executing any office contrary
 to law, robbers, freebooters, banditti, and incap-
 able of receiving quarter ; calling on all magis-
 trates, under the penalty of answering for the
 protestant blood that might be spilt, and the
 protestant property that might be destroyed
 through their negligence or apathy, to disarm all
 papists, and to execute these orders with rigour ;

²⁰ Dalrymple, 326—330. James (Memoirs), ii. 233—237.
 Barillon, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18 Dec.

because London and Westminster were threatened with conflagration, and their inhabitants with massacre from the crowds of armed papists, who had collected there to execute the design of the French king, who had leagued himself with a neighbouring prince of the same communion, to extirpate protestantism out of Europe. This instrument was afterwards disowned by William, and some years later Speke the libeller came forward to claim the merit or infamy of the imposture: but at the time of publication no one doubted its authenticity; and the spirit of vengeance which it breathed, with the tone of authority which it assumed, strongly served to confirm the jealousies and apprehensions, which agitated the mind of the king. He drew from it the inference that it was intended to deprive him of every individual in whom he could repose any confidence, to place him gagged and bound in the hands of his enemies; and of the fate he might expect in such circumstances he had before his eyes a pregnant instance in the eventful history of his father²¹.

The queen had hitherto refused to separate her lot from that of her husband; but now that he had made up his mind to leave the kingdom, and that he solemnly promised to follow her within twenty-four hours, she consented to accompany

Queen escapes with her child.

²¹ See the proclamation in Echard, 1127. Also Barillon, 16 Dec. James (Memoirs), ii. 249; and Burnet, iii. 321.

CHAP. her child. The time for their escape was fixed
 II. at two after midnight. Disguised as an Italian
 1688. lady, with a female Italian servant, and the nurse
 Dec. 10. carrying the infant, she stole silently down the
 privy stairs to the water side, and, though the
 night was dark and stormy, stepped intrepidly
 into a small open boat, crossed the river, and
 landed on the opposite bank at Lambeth. But
 the carriage, which had been ordered, was not
 there; the rain fell in torrents; and the royal
 fugitive was compelled to wait under the shelter
 of a high wall, exposed to the danger of discovery
 from the cry of the child, and the accidental
 curiosity of the inhabitants. At length they were
 enabled to depart, and drove to Gravesend, where
 a yacht with lord and lady Powis and three Irish
 officers on board, was ready to receive them, and
 conveyed them in safety to Calais. St. Victor, a
 French gentleman, saw the exiles depart, and
 hastened back with the consoling information to
 the monarch²².

James re-
 ceives re-
 port from
 his com-
 mission-
 ers.

James had passed the early part of the morn-
 ing in considerable agitation: the return of St.
 Victor enabled him to assume a more cheerful air,
 he ordered the guards to be in readiness to ac-
 company him to Uxbridge the next day, and
 talked of offering battle to the enemy, though at
 the same time he confessed to Barillon, that he
 had not a single corps, on whose fidelity he could

²² James, ii. 246. Barillon, 20 Dec. Orleans, 315. Note (E.)

rely. Up to this moment he remained in ignorance of the progress of the negotiation; in the evening a messenger from his commissioners, brought him an account of their proceedings²³.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

On the sixth day after their departure from London, they had been introduced to the presence of William, who stated, in allusion to one part of the royal proclamation, that he would never admit of any pardon for his followers, because the admission of pardon supposed the pre-existence of guilt; and that he had named to confer with them as commissioners on his side the marshal Schomberg, and the earls of Oxford and Clarendon. The reader will probably start at the name of Clarendon. Yet so it was: the very man who but a month before so feelingly lamented the defection of his son, was now found at the head quarters, and acting as the confidential agent of the prince. In fact, he had imprudently persuaded himself that these conferences would lead to the formation of a new ministry, in which, if he were not wanting to his own interest, he might hold a distinguished place. With this view he hastened from London to pay his worship to the rising sun: but a few days convinced him of his mistake. He saw that William's ambition would be satisfied with nothing short of the crown, a change of dynasty, which he was not prepared to support²⁴.

Dec. 8.

²³ Barillon, 20, 22 Dec. James (Memoirs), ii. 249.

²⁴ Clarendon's Diary, 212—220.

CHAP. II. 1688. The royal commissioners being requested to state their demands in writing, observed that, as the king had already done all that the prince required, by calling a parliament, nothing remained but to adjust the preliminaries necessary for the freedom of elections, and the security of the two houses; for which object they proposed that both armies should be restrained from coming within a certain distance of the capital. William referred their paper to the consideration of his English followers, whose opinions he affected to follow, though they had hitherto been dictated by himself. On this occasion a warm altercation arose. They insisted that James should be obliged to recal the writs which had been issued for the election of representatives. He replied, "We may drive away the king, but how can we procure a legal parliament without the writs?" They were not persuaded: the article was included in the conditions, and he ordered it to be erased. In the morning they replaced it, but he again insisted that it should be expunged²⁵. The answer which was at last returned required that each army should remain at the distance of forty miles from the capital, that all papists should be dismissed from office, that all proclamations reflecting on the prince or his followers should be recalled, that

The answer
given by
the prince.

Dec. 9.

²⁵ The majority feared that, if the writs were not revoked, the elections would take place while they remained with the army, and that other persons would be returned as representatives in their absence. *Clar. Diary*, 221, 223.

the invading army should be supported at the public expense, that the king and the prince should reside in London, or at an equal distance from London, with the same number of guards, and that the Tower and the fort at Tilbury should be placed in the custody of the city, and Portsmouth in that of such person as should be agreeable to both parties. To adjust these particulars William offered not to advance within forty miles of the capital during the four following days, an offer which, while it bore the appearance of moderation, was equally convenient for himself²⁶.

Though these conditions were more favourable than the king expected, they did not induce him to alter his resolution. The observation of the commissioners that "there appeared a possibility of putting matters into a way of accommodation," was not calculated to excite any very sanguine hopes; their private letters were still more discouraging than their public despatches; and to James it seemed plain from a review of all the proceedings, that it was the object of his nephew to effect his deposition by a legal parliament of his own calling. Before he retired to rest he delivered to the count de Roye a letter for lord Feversham, announcing his intention of providing for his own safety by withdrawing from the kingdom, thanking him and the officers and pri-

CHAP.
II.
1688.

The king
quits his
palace in
the night.
Dec. 10.

²⁶ James, ii. 240. Kennet, 501.

CHAP. vates for their past loyalty, and remarking that
 II. he no longer expected them to expose themselves
 1688. ————— to danger by “resistance to a foreign army and a
 poisoned nation ²⁷.” Then, having received from
 the lord chancellor all the parliamentary writs
 which had not hitherto been issued, he threw
 them with his own hands into the fire, to dis-
 appoint by their destruction one great object of
 Dec. 11. his enemies ²⁸. Soon after midnight he rose, dis-
 guised himself in the dress of a country gentle-
 man, and ordered the duke of Northumberland,
 who slept on the pallet-bed, to keep the door
 locked till the usual hour in the morning. De-
 scending the back stairs, he was joined by sir
 Edward Hales, whom in his exile he created earl
 of Tenterden: a hackney coach conveyed them
 to the horseferry; and as they crossed the river
 with a pair of oars the king threw the great seal
 into the water. At Vauxhall they found horses
 in readiness, and with the aid of a relay provided
 by Sheldon, one of the royal equerries, reached
 Emley ferry, near Faversham, by ten. The
 custom-house hoy had been engaged to convey two
 strangers to France, but the ship wanting ballast,
 they were forced to run her on shore near Sheer-

²⁷ James, ii. 249. Kennet, 500. Lord Godolphin wrote to advise him to withdraw. Lord Dartmouth's note to Burnet, iii. 327. Lord Halifax is also said to have written that the party of the prince had “an ill design” against the king's person. Resby, 311. See also d'Orleans, 314.

²⁸ James (Memoirs), ii. 251. The writs had been issued for fifteen counties only. Barillon, 27 Dec.

ness: where about eleven at night they were boarded from three boats, cruising in the mouth of the river to intercept the fugitive royalists. The hoy floating with the tide was taken back to Faversham; and the king, having remained for several hours in the hands of his captors, was compelled to land and proceed to the principal inn. There he saw that, notwithstanding his disguise, he was recognised by several persons in the crowd, of whom one, bursting into tears, knelt to kiss his hand; and, as the secret had now transpired, he acknowledged himself, sent for lord Winchelsea, whom he appointed lord lieutenant of the county, and was at his own request transferred from the inn to the house of the mayor, under a strong guard of the seamen and militia ²⁹.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Is apprehended at
Faver-
sham.

Dec. 12.

²⁹ James, *ibid.* 251—254, App. vi. Barillon, 24 Dec. Burnet, iii. 326. It has often been said that James was induced to escape to France by the advice of Barillon. The despatches of that envoy show on the contrary that James did not consult him, nor give him any opportunity of interfering with his opinion. Barillon, however, conceiving that it might prove injurious to the interest of France if James were to quit his dominions, solicited from Louis an order to advise him to remain. But the monarch was more generous than his minister. He refused: “plus je desire de l’aider à sortir de l’embarras où il est, et de lui témoigner dans une conjoncture si périlleuse la sincérité de mon amitié pour sa personne, et de mon empressement pour tout ce qui le regarde, plus je vois qu’il faut laisser à sa prudence et à la connoissance qu’il a de la disposition de son royaume, à prendre les résolutions qu’il croira lui être les plus convenables. . . . Vous pouvez l’assurer que s’il envoie la reine et le prince de Galles dans mes états, ils y seront reçus avec toute la considération que demande leur rang, et qu’il peut toujours faire un fondement certain sur mon amitié.” Louis XIV. à Barillon, 20 Dec.

CHAP. Lord Feversham, as soon as he received the
 II. king's letter, ordered it to be read to the dif-
 1688. ferent regiments, announced to them the expi-
 ——— ration of his command, and informed the prince
 The royal of what he had done. Many of the officers and
 army dis- men received the intelligence with tears, and,
 banded. conceiving themselves at liberty, withdrew
 to their respective homes. But William was
 offended; nor did he fail on the first opportunity
 to make lord Feversham feel the effect of his
 resentment. He complained that, by suffering
 the men to disband themselves, that officer had
 endangered the tranquillity of the country: but
 the true reason was believed to be, that he
 had intended to incorporate the royal army with
 his own, and to employ it for the purposes which
 he meditated ³⁰.

Council
 of peers
 in Lon-
 don.

Dec. 13.

In London the news of the king's flight created surprise and consternation. About thirty spiritual and temporal peers joined the lord mayor and aldermen at the Guildhall, and, after some consultation, forming themselves into a separate council, assumed for a time the supreme authority. They published and sent to the prince a declaration of their adhesion to him in his endeavour to uphold the religion and liberties of the country by procuring a free parliament; a declaration which, as it did not come up to his expectations, was received by him with evident marks of

³⁰ James, ii. 249—251. Barillon, 22 Dec.

dissatisfaction, while a most gracious reception CHAP.
II.
1688.
 was given to the deputies from the common council and the city, who begged of him to hasten his march to the capital for the completion of the great work which he had so gloriously begun³¹. In addition, the lords, to calm the fears of the citizens, took advantage of the absence of Skelton from the Tower, to transfer the government of that fortress to the care of lord Lucas, whose company formed part of the garrison, and they issued circular orders to the naval and military officers to watch over the preservation of discipline in the fleet and army. But the great difficulty was to maintain tranquillity in London and Westminster, where their ephemeral authority, though respected by the higher classes, was set at nought by the passions of the people, authorised, as they supposed themselves to be, by the recent proclamation of the prince.

Large bodies of men collected in the streets, and, under pretence of searching for arms, burst into the houses of the catholics, whence, if they did not proceed to the demolition of the buildings, they carried off every thing that was valuable. The office of Hills, the king's printer, was laid in ruins, and its contents given to the flames; the several catholic chapels were either destroyed or burnt; and the ambassadors of the catholic powers were insulted or threatened. Ronquillo, the ambassador

Proceed-
ings of
the mob.

³¹ Clarendon, Diary, 224. Barillon, 22 Dec.

CHAP. from Spain, trusted to his popularity (for his constant support of the prince had made him a public favourite): but the plate of the royal chapel and of several catholic families, which had been committed to his custody, offered too powerful a temptation; and his doors were forced, his house and chapel were rifled, and whatever the rioters could not carry away was burnt, together with his library and manuscripts. Of the other ambassadors the Florentine experienced the same treatment; but those from France and Venice applied to the council, and obtained for their protection strong detachments of military, who repelled with difficulty the repeated assaults of the populace ³².

Alarm in
the night.
Dec. 13.

On the second night the citizens were awakened from their sleep by a sudden cry of "The Irish are up and cutting throats:" and the same terrifying denunciation was simultaneously echoed from every part of the metropolis. Lights were instantly placed in the windows, a hundred thousand men rushed into the streets; parties proceeded in different directions to oppose the imaginary foes; and, though the murderers could nowhere be discovered, still the report obtained credence, and the terrors of the citizens were

³² James (Memoirs), ii. 256. Echard, 1130. Barillon, 22, 24 Dec. Ellis Cor. ii. 347, 350. Buckingham, ii. xv. The king, on account of some riotous assemblages, had ordered all the catholic chapels to be shut up as early as Nov. 9. Barillon, 19 Nov.

protracted, till the return of daylight gradually CHAP.
dispelled the delusion. At the same time a II.
similar alarm was excited in most of the neigh- 1688.
bouring towns, but it failed of provoking, what
it probably was meant to provoke, a massacre
of the catholics. Speke took to himself the merit
also of this dangerous contrivance³³.

The mob repeatedly called for the blood of Arrests.
father Petre. But he had disappointed their
vengeance by retiring beyond the sea about ten
days before: and his example had been imitated
by lord Melfort, the Scottish secretary. As soon
as the flight of James became known, numbers,
apprehensive of the consequences, attempted to
follow him; and the roads towards the sea coast
were covered with fugitives endeavouring to
escape, and with persons on the watch to arrest
every stranger proceeding in that direction. Even
during the short stay of the royal captive at
Faversham, Mr. Justice Jenner, Burton and

³³ James, ii. 258. Ellis Corresp. ii. 356. Barillon, 23 Dec.
Echard, 1131. Perhaps he might claim also that of a similar
fraud in Ireland. On the 7th of Dec. lord Mount-Alexander
received an anonymous letter, stating that the 9th was fixed for
the general massacre of the protestants. From his seat in the
county of Down he despatched copies of this letter into all quar-
ters of the island. Wherever it arrived the utmost consternation
prevailed. Congregations rushed out of the churches during the
service to provide for their safety; multitudes migrated from the
interior to the sea coast, to procure a passage to England, and on
the night of the 9th three thousand individuals in Dublin fled
from their beds, and took refuge on board the ships in the har-
bour. See Secret Consults, 137—140.

CHAP. II. Graham, the king's solicitors, Giffard and Leyburn, two of the vicars apostolic, Obadiah Walker
 1688. — and several others were brought prisoners into the town. The nuncio had placed himself as a servant behind the carriage of the envoy from Savoy: but that minister with his suite was intercepted and detained, till William, who sought not to offend his catholic allies, furnished him with a passport. The lord chancellor Jeffreys was discovered at Wapping in a strange disguise. A party of the trained bands rescued him from the fury of the mob: but they still pursued him with whips and halters, and, as the lord mayor was too much alarmed to take his examination, he was at his own desire conducted for safety to the Tower. The lords in council soon afterwards sent a warrant for his detention, and in the course of a few months he died of the stone without having been discharged from confinement³⁴. Penn was also brought before them, and gave security for his appearance in 6,000l.³⁵

The
 guards
 sent to
 the king.
 Dec. 14.

On the third morning a rumour was heard of the king's arrestation in his flight. It obtained no credit; but a countryman, standing at the door of the council-chamber at Whitehall, put into the hands of lord Mulgrave a letter from

³⁴ Buckingham, ii. p. xi. James, ii. 251. Ralph, 1063. Ellis Corresp. ii. 354. Echard, 1130. I do not notice the different stories respecting the capture and death of Jeffreys. They are so contradictory that no reliance can be placed on them.

³⁵ Ellis Corresp. ii. 356. Barillon, 24, 25, 27 Dec.

James, which bore no address, but stated that the writer was a prisoner in the hands of the rabble at Faversham. Most of the lords, afraid of offending the prince, would gladly have passed it by without notice, and for that purpose Halifax, the chairman, suddenly adjourned the meeting; but Mulgrave conjured them to resume their seats, and extorted from them by his remonstrances an order that the earl of Feversham should take two hundred of the life-guards, and protect the king's person from insult. Feversham solicited an explanation of this order, but was merely told that it gave him no authority to interfere with the liberty or motions of the sovereign. Halifax, to mark his dissatisfaction, or to make his court, immediately left London, and repaired to the head-quarters of the prince ³⁶.

The king, on the arrival of Feversham, determined to return to the capital. To account for this resolution, so contrary to that which he had adopted four days before, it should be known that, during his confinement, lord Winchelsea had strongly advised him to lay aside the design of quitting the kingdom: his friends from

CHAP.

II.
1688.His
reasons
for re-
turning.
Dec. 15.

³⁶ Halifax was chosen chairman in the absence of the archbishop of Canterbury, "because, after he had signed the address to the prince, he never would appear in public affairs, or pay the least sort of respect to the prince of Orange, even after he was elected king of England; and yet, on the other side, had been as morose to king James before, in never acknowledging his son, or showing him the least civility." Buckingham, ii. p. xiv. xvi. xviii.

CHAP. II.
1688. London had excited his hopes by representing to him that a sentiment of pity for his misfortunes had rekindled the flame of loyalty in the breasts of numbers : and Godolphin, though he dared not advise him to return, had blamed his flight, under the notion that the conditions, if they had been approved by the king, would probably have been executed by the prince³⁷. James resolved to make the experiment. From Rochester he despatched Feversham to William at Windsor, with verbal instructions on several points, and with a written invitation to a personal conference in the capital, where the palace of St. James's would be ready for his reception. The messenger found the prince and his advisers perplexed and confounded. On the supposition that James had left the kingdom, *he* had assumed the exercise of the sovereign authority, and had issued orders to the royal army, and the officers of government, in the style of a king or a conqueror ; and *they*, in the confidence of success, had parcelled out among themselves the great offices of state, and the rewards to which they were entitled for their services. But Feversham, the moment he had delivered his despatch, was arrested by order of William, and confined in the Round Tower, under the frivolous pretext that he had come without a passport, and had dis-

³⁷ Barillon, 24 Dec. James, ii. 259, 261. Ralph, i. 1068. Clarendon, Diary, 226.

banded the army without orders ; but probably to convince James, as it did in fact convince him, that he would no longer be treated as a king. But, whatever was the motive of the prince, the arrest shook the confidence of many among his adherents. He had been sent for, they remarked, to protect their liberties ; and one of the first uses which he made of his power was to imprison a peer of the realm without assigning any cause or observing any legal process ³⁸.

From Faversham the fugitive monarch returned to Rochester, where he was joined by his guards ; and from Rochester proceeded in royal guise through the city to Whitehall³⁹. His progress resembled a triumphal procession. He was preceded by a body of gentlemen with their heads uncovered ; an immense crowd received him with loud acclamations ; the bells were rung, and the evening was ushered in with bonfires. It is not

CHAP.
II.
1688.

He comes
to White-
hall.
Dec. 16.

³⁸ Buckingham, i. p. xxii. "I asked Bentinck what could be the meaning of committing lord Feversham, to which he made me answer, but with a shrug, 'Alas! my lord.' This proceeding startles me." Clarendon, Diary, 227. See also Barillon, 24 Dec.

³⁹ On the day before, the princess Anne made a similar entry into Oxford to meet her husband. "The earl of Northampton with five hundred horse led the van. Her royal highness was preceded by the bishop of London at the head of a noble troop of gentlemen, his lordship riding in a purple cloak, martial habit, pistols before him, and his sword drawn ; and his cornet had the inscription in golden letters on his standard, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. The rear was brought up by some militia troops." Ellis Correspondence, ii. 368.

CHAP. improbable that, during these demonstrations of
 II. loyalty, a few rays of hope may have illumined
 1688. the troubled mind of the king: but they were
 soon extinguished by the ominous arrival of
 Zuleistein, and the news of the arrest of lord
 Feversham. Zuleistein was the bearer of a letter
 from William, requesting his uncle not to advance
 nearer the capital than Rochester. But James,
 observing that the request had come too late, re-
 peated his invitation to a personal interview, and
 to the remark of the messenger, that the prince
 could not venture his person in a city occupied by
 the royal troops, replied, "then let him come with
 his own guards to St. James's, and I will dismiss
 mine; for I am as well without any, as with
 those whom I dare not trust." This conference
 convinced the king of what he had so long sus-
 pected. The language of the letter and of the
 messenger showed, that William assumed the
 superiority of a conqueror, and no longer treated
 his uncle as the sovereign. Yet with these
 thoughts on his mind the unhappy monarch was
 sufficiently master of himself to hold a court,
 which was numerous though not brilliantly
 attended, to meet his ministers in council, and to
 sup in public as in the days of his prosperity⁴⁰. But
 Dec. 17. the next morning he sent a message to Lewis and
 Stamps, two of the aldermen, that, to leave no
 doubt of his sincerity, he was willing, if the civic

⁴⁰ James (Memoirs), ii. 261—263. Barillon, 27 Dec.

authorities would guarantee his personal safety, to place himself in their hands, till full security for the religion and liberties of the nation had been established by parliament. Had the offer been accepted, it would have thrown a most perplexing obstacle in the way of the prince: but it was declined, through the influence of sir Robert Clayton, on the ground that the city ought not to enter into any engagement which it might not be in its power to fulfil⁴¹.

In the secret counsels of the prince a determination had been taken, to consider the reign of James at an end from the moment of his late escape from the capital. Now, however, that he was returned to Whitehall, and had been joyfully received by his subjects, William deigned to consult his English adherents, not collectively, but individually and in private, on the delicate and important question, what course ought to be pursued with respect to the royal person. By several it was suggested, that James should be secured a prisoner in some fortress in England, or perhaps in Holland. In that case anxiety for the preservation of his life would deter his friends from any hostile attempts, and Ireland, which was now in the power of Tyrconnel, might be obtained as the price of his liberty. But the prince followed a different counsel. He deemed it more for his interest that James should withdraw from the

CHAP
II.
1688.

Perplex-
ity of the
prince.

⁴¹ James, ii. 271. G. Britain's Just Complaint, 8.

CHAP. kingdom, and that his escape should bear the
 II.
 1688. appearance of his own voluntary act. For this
 ————— purpose he sought to operate on the king's apprehensions; ordered four battalions of the Dutch guards and a squadron of horse under count Solms to march into Westminster, and despatched from Sion-house, the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, with a harsh and peremptory order to his uncle. Halifax was chosen for this office, as Clarendon had been on a recent occasion, to try the sincerity of his conversion⁴².

The Dutch
 occupy
 the palace.

No answer had been returned to the king's message by Zulestein; but late in the evening Solms arrived, occupied the palace of St. James's, and, advancing at the head of three battalions, with their matches lighted and in order of battle, demanded possession of Whitehall. The spirit of Lord Craven, the commander of the English Guards, was roused: he declared that, as long as breath remained in his body, no foreign force should make a king of England prisoner in his own palace. James hesitated: but a moment's reflection convinced him that resistance against such disparity of numbers could only lead to unnecessary bloodshed, and by dint of entreaty,

⁴² Burnet, iii. 334—337. Clarendon, Diary, 229. Clarendon asked in the presence of William, why the king might not go to one of his own palaces, when lord Delamere answered that he did not look upon him as a king; and that he ought not to be in one of the royal houses, as if he were a king, and that he should never more be obeyed by him (Delamere) as king. Ibid.

and some exertion of authority, he prevailed on the old man (Craven was in his eightieth year) to withdraw the Guards from their posts, which were immediately occupied by the Dutch⁴³.

CHAP.
II.
1688.

The king was now in a state of captivity. With a misboding mind he retired to rest a little before midnight, and after some time sunk into a profound sleep, from which he was suddenly awakened by the earl of Middleton. That nobleman, who lay in the antichamber, had been disturbed by a loud knocking at the outer door: where he found the three commissioners from the prince, demanding immediate entrance. James was at first surprised, but instantly recovering himself, received them in bed, and listened to lord Halifax, who showed him their instructions, and told him that, for his own safety and the preservation of tranquillity, it was deemed proper to remove him from Whitehall; that Ham, a house in Surrey belonging to the dowager duchess of Lauderdale, had been selected for his residence; and that at Ham he might be attended by his own guards, but must quit Whitehall by ten the next morning, because the prince intended to arrive in the capital about noon. From such an intrusion at such an hour it is probable that the king anticipated some more painful announcement. He appeared to receive the order for his removal with indifference, but objected to Ham as a cold, damp, and unfur-

The king
is ordered
to with-
draw.

Dec. 18.

⁴³ James, ii. 264. Buckingham, ii. p. xxiii. Barillon, 30 Dec.

CHAP. nished house ; and expressed a strong inclination
II. to return to Rochester, where the prince had pre-
1688. viously desired him to remain. About nine in
the morning the commissioners returned with the
permission which he had asked ; but, in arranging
the manner of his departure, James experienced
much opposition from the morosity of lord Halifax,
who, as a recent convert, sought to display his
devotion to the prince, while lord Shrewsbury, of
whose political creed there can be no doubt, be-
haved with deference to the unfortunate monarch,
and laboured to soothe his affliction by gratifying
him in every request. About twelve the king
bade adieu to the lords and gentlemen and foreign
ministers, who had assembled to give him this last
proof of their respect, and who, for the most part,
burst into tears. Hastening to the river, he went
on board the royal barge attended by the lords
Arran, Dunbarton, Lichfield, Aylesbury, and
Dundee ; several boats carrying one hundred of
the Dutch guards took their respective stations
around him, and, at the signal given, the royal
captive proceeded down the river. To most of
the spectators it proved a mournful and humiliat-
ing sight. They felt that powerful impression
which is always made by the spectacle of majesty
in distress, and they could not behold without
shame the king of England conveyed from his
capital a prisoner in the hands of foreigners⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ James (*Memoirs*), ii. 265—267. Buckingham, ii. p. xxii.

James slept at Gravesend, and spent four days at Rochester. There he received no communication from William, but was visited by many of his servants and adherents, who brought him accounts of all that passed in the metropolis. From them he learned that about three hours after his departure the prince arrived with six thousand men at St. James's, and was visited the same evening by most of the noblemen in London; that the next day he received the duke of Norfolk, who had raised for him a powerful force in the eastern counties, and the aldermen who presented to him an address in the name of the city; that some lawyers had advised him to proclaim himself king, and summon a parliament, after the precedent of Henry VII., but that this advice had been rejected because it was impossible to reconcile it with the contents of the declaration; that he had, however, begun to exercise the sovereign authority, by ordering the deputies elected in the city on St. Thomas's day to act without taking the oaths,

CHAP.
II.
1688.

Dec. 19—
23.
He goes to
Rochester.

Kennet, 503. Evelyn, Diary, iii. 262. Ellis Correspondence, ii. 372. It is a singular fact that the officer who commanded the Dutch guard, and one half of the men, were catholics. One of them, when the king asked how he, a catholic, could aid a protestant prince to dethrone a catholic king on account of his religion, replied "that his soul was God's, but his sword the prince of Orange's." Burnet, iii. 338. See also James, ii. 273. "Les Anglais qui le virent partir," says Barillon, 30 Dec., "étoient fort tristes, la plupart avoient les larmes aux yeux. Il a paru même de la consternation dans le peuple, quand on a su que le roi, partoît environné de gardes Hollandoises, et qu'il étoit véritablement prisonnier." See also Clarendon, Diary, 321.

CHAP. and had requested the lords spiritual and temporal
 II.
 1688. to meet in council, and give him their advice ;
 ——— and that, in consequence of this request,
 about seventy peers had assembled in Westminster, and had chosen for their legal advisers, in place of the judges, five barristers strongly devoted to the interest of the prince ⁴⁵. Every thing concurred to strengthen the king's conviction that his nephew intended to assume the crown ; and, when he compared the events of the last few days with what he observed around him, that he was permitted to communicate freely with all who presented themselves, and that, while egress from the house towards the town was closed by the military posted at the door, the road from the garden to the river was left entirely open, he concluded that his presence was an embarrassment to his enemies ; and that, if they thus afforded him the means of evasion, it was with the hope that he would avail himself of them to withdraw from the kingdom. This very inference formed of itself a sufficient argument why he should remain ; it was hourly confirmed by letters and messengers from his most trusty adherents, and powerfully urged by lord Middleton in person, who plainly told him that if he were once to seek an asylum abroad, he must never expect to set his foot again on English

⁴⁵ James (*Memoirs*), ii. 268—270, 272. Kennet, 504. Burnet, iii. 341.

ground ⁴⁶. On the other hand it was represented to him, that as long as he remained, he lay at the mercy of an ambitious competitor, who could dispose of him as he thought fit; that he was, and would be in fact a state prisoner, and must know that, according to the saying of his royal father, who had proved the truth of the adage in his own person, there was but a short distance between the prison of a king and his grave; and that even lord Middleton, when the question was put, did not dare to reply that he saw any means of security for his life on this side of the sea. Amidst these conflicting opinions the unfortunate monarch repeated, but with the prelates, the experiment which he had unsuccessfully made with the aldermen; and through the bishop of Winchester offered to place himself in the custody of the episcopal bench, provided they would answer for his safety. The offer was, however, evaded; and that moment he took the resolution to escape from durance, while the council of peers was yet in deliberation respecting his future

CHAP.
II.
1688.

⁴⁶ Brady was sent to him by the bishop of Ely on this subject (Clar. Diary, 232), and was seen by him. James (Mem.), ii. 270. Clarendon sent Belson with a similar message, "a discreet and honest man, a Roman catholic, and one who never approved the foolish management of father Peters; as, in truth, did none of the sober Roman catholics." Ibid. Belson went to Rochester, and was announced to the king at supper, who said that he had letters to write, but would speak to him in the morning. In the morning he was gone. Ibid. 231.

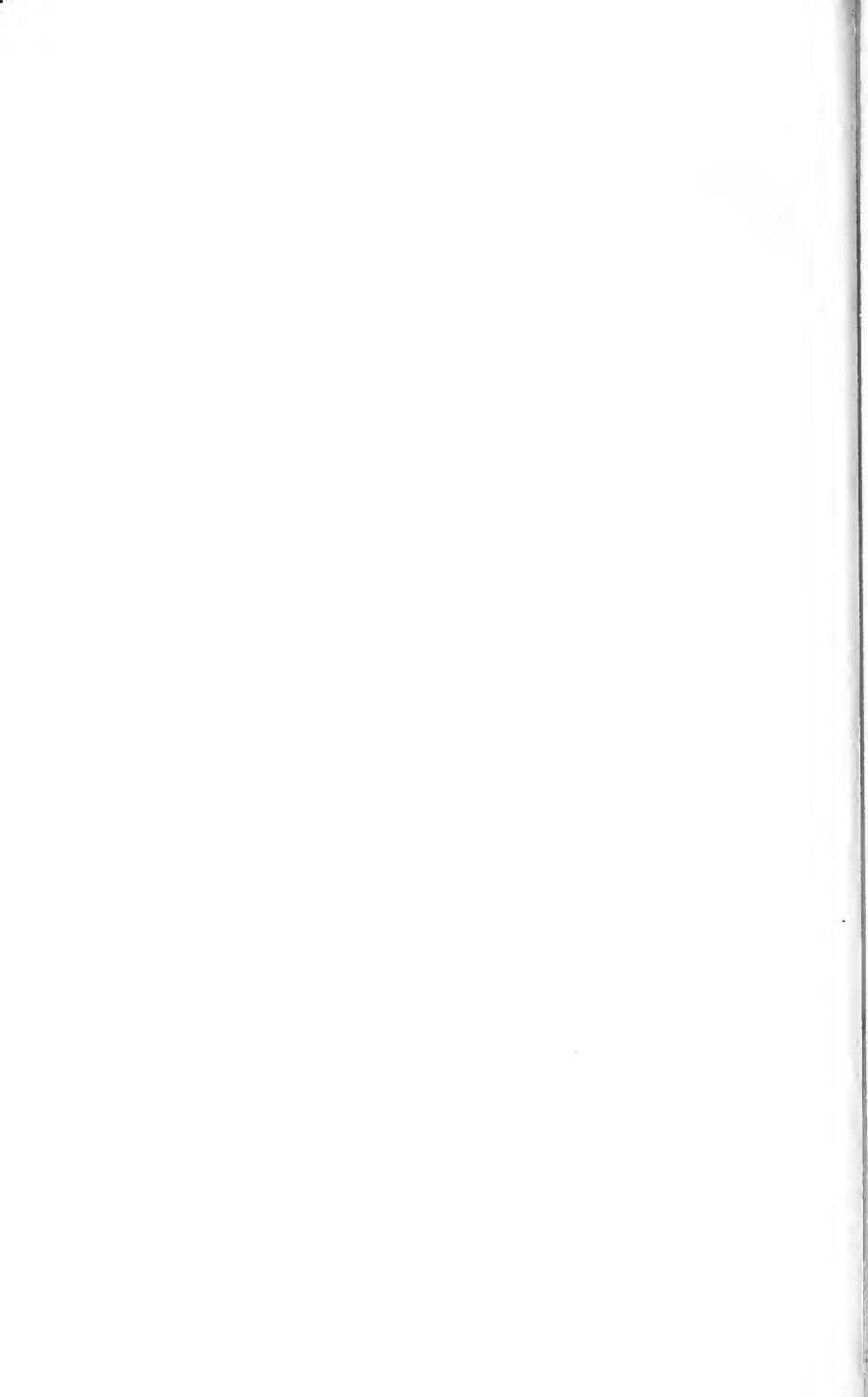
CHAP. lot ⁴⁷. Before supper he sate down and wrote a
 II. declaration of the motives which induced him to
 1688. withdraw. It was, he said, next to madness to
 ——— suppose that his life would be in safety as long
 Writes a as he remained in the power of a son-in-law, who
 declara- had invaded his dominions without provocation,
 tion. had made him a prisoner in his own palace, had
 Dec. 22. sent him an order in the dead of the night to
 quit his capital, and had endeavoured to make
 him appear to the world as “black as hell,” by
 imputing to him the crime of a supposititious
 child: an imputation which even those who
 made it believed in their consciences to be false.
 He was born free, and wished to continue so;
 he had ventured his life in defence of his country,
 and was not yet too old to venture it again; for
 that purpose he had withdrawn while it was in
 his power, but should still remain within call,
 ready to come forward whenever the people
 should open their eyes to the false but specious
 pretexts of religion and property with which they
 had been deluded ⁴⁸. This paper he ordered the
 earl of Middleton to publish, left certain gratui-
 ties to be given to deserving persons, and 100
 guineas to each of the captains of the Dutch
 guard, and having communicated his intention to

⁴⁷ James, ii. 271, 272. This is confirmed by Reresby, 312. He had sent a similar message to Danby in Yorkshire. Reresby, 325.

⁴⁸ James (Memoirs), ii. 272. Echard, 1134.

the lords Aylesbury, Lichfield, Middleton, and CHAP.
 Dumbarton, retired to his bed at the usual hour. II.
 Soon afterwards he arose, and passed through the 1688.
 garden to the river, in company with Maedonnel And es-
 and Trevannion, two captains in the navy, his capes to
 natural son, the duke of Berwick, and Biddulph, France.
 one of the grooms of the bedchamber. The Dec. 23.
 weather was stormy; the wind and tide opposed their
 progress; and after an ineffectual attempt to
 reach the fishing smack which had been hired for
 the occasion, the king went on board the Eagle
 fireship, and was received by the ship's company
 with due respect. The next morning he pro-
 ceeded to his own vessel. They were in all twenty
 men, well provided with weapons of defence; and
 after a tedious voyage of two days, in which they
 ran some danger from the weather, and more
 from the men-of-war lying in the Downs, arrived Dec. 25.
 without molestation at Ambleteuse on the coast
 of France. Thence he hastened to join his wife Dec. 28.
 and child at the castle of St. Germain's, where the
 exile was received by Louis with expressions of
 sympathy and proofs of munificence, which did
 honour to the head and heart of that monarch.
 The reign of James in England and Scotland was
 at an end ⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ James (Memoirs), ii. 275—277. Barillon, 2 Janvier. The prince had sent to Barillon an order the preceding evening to leave London for France on the 3d, N. S. See note (F.)



NOTE [A], Page 11.

EXTRAIT D'UNE LETTRE DE M. DE BARILLON AU
ROI.

12 Mars, 1685.

Le Roi d'Angleterre manda, il y a deux jours, l'archevêque de Cantorbery, l'évêque de Londres, et quelques autres. Il se plaignit à eux de ce que les prédicateurs s'emportoient dans leurs sermons contre la religion catholique, et faisoient appréhender au peuple la ruine de la religion protestante ; qu'il ne pouvoit souffrir une chose si opposée au bien de l'état, et à la tranquillité publique. 'Ils lui promirent d'y mettre ordre, et de contenir les prédicateurs dans de justes bornes. Ils répondirent même de la conduite et des discours de ceux qui dependoient d'eux, et donnèrent de grandes assurances de leur fidélité. Sa M. B. leur dit en les congédiant : Mess. Je vous tiendrai ma parole, et n'entreprendrai rien contre la religion établie par les lois, si vous ne me manquez pas les premiers ; mais si vous ne faites votre devoir à mon égard, n'attendez pas que je vous protège, et croyez que je trouverai bien les moyens de faire mes affaires sans vous. Ces paroles, prononcées avec fermeté, les ont intimidés : mais je doute fort que cela puisse faire changer le fonds de leur conduite.

Il y a deux partis parmi les évêques. L'un est celui de l'archevêque de Cantorbery, qui est fort modéré à l'égard des catholiques, et fort royaliste ; l'autre est celui de l'évêque de Londres, qui sous prétexte de zèle pour la religion protestante peut faire beaucoup

de mal au Roi d'Angleterre. Son maxime fondamentale est la persécution non seulement des catholiques, mais de tous les nonconformistes. Il est fort difficile de concilier leurs intérêts et leurs desseins avec ceux de sa M. B.; et il ne paroît pas praticable de laisser les catholiques en repos, et avec l'exercice libre de leur religion dans leur maisons, pendant qu'on obligera par des punitions rigoureuses les non-conformistes et tous les autres sectaires à se conformer à l'église Anglicane.

C'est ce qui rend les catholiques plus portés à conseiller à sa M. B. de ne rien espérer du parti episcopal, et de ne rien prétendre pour la religion catholique qu'une pleine liberté de conscience pour toutes les religions dont l'Angleterre est remplie. C'est un parti que le Roi d'A. ne veut prendre, qu'après avoir éprouvé s'il peut établir ses affaires par le moyen du parti Episcopal, en sorte qu'il n'ait plus rien à craindre des autres. Il se flatte que l'église Anglicane est si peu éloignée de la catholique qu'il ne serait pas mal aisé de ramener la plupart d'entre eux à se declarer ouvertement; et lui même m'a dit plusieurs fois, ils sont catholiques Romains sans croire l'être.

NOTE [B], Page 60.

Monmouth's letter to the king contained several mysterious expressions, which have given birth to numerous conjectures. "The chief end of this letter is only to beg of you that I may have that happiness as to speak to your majesty; for I have that to say

to you, sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign.....I can say no more to your majesty now, being this letter must be seen by those that keep me. Could I but say one word in this letter you would be convinced," (of his zeal for the king's service); "but it is of that consequence that I dare not do it." His letter to lord Rochester is in the same mysterious style. "I have that to say to him which I am sure will set him at quiet for ever. I can give him such infallible proofs of my truth to him that, though I would alter, it would not be in my power." Clarend. Corresp. i. 143. See also his letter to the queen dowager in Ellis.

From these passages it is evident that Monmouth pretended to be in possession of some information of tremendous importance to the king, and of such a nature that it could not be safely committed to writing, yet would, if it were to reach the royal ear, merit for him the pardon of his treason. To what could that information relate? Some say to the secret participation of the prince of Orange in the late attempt. But, as Mr. Fox has observed, this hypothesis is totally destroyed by the appeal of the duke to the prince and princess of Orange, to bear testimony of the assurances which he had given them of his resolution "never to stir against the king." Others have supposed that it related to Sunderland, and that that minister was in reality an accomplice in the treasonable attempt. That such was afterwards the prevalent opinion among the followers of the exiled monarch at St. Germain's, is certain: but they were prepared to believe any thing to the prejudice of Sunderland, and had read in Ferguson's narrative that Monmouth had promised to Sunderland the office of secretary which he held under the king. From the printed memoirs of James we may infer that the same was also the belief of that

monarch's son: but the story which is there told in support of the charge is not worthy of credit. It is plainly derived, not from the king's memoirs, but from some other source. It tells us that Monmouth confided his secret to Sheldon, to be by him communicated in private to James: that James commanded Sheldon to deliver his message in the presence of Sunderland; and that when he told him from Monmouth, that Sunderland was a traitor, the secretary treated it as a ridiculous subterfuge adopted by the prisoner to save his life. (ii. 34.) But if this were so, how can we account for the silence of Monmouth on that head, both when he was in the presence of the king, and afterwards, when lord Feversham visited him in the Tower by order of the king, to receive any communication which he might have to make?

There is another traditionary version of the story, which conveys the information in a letter from Monmouth after he was sent to the Tower, and makes Sunderland intercept it at the door of the royal closet, where he refused entrance to the messenger under pretence that the king was changing his shirt. (Clar. Corresp. i. 144, 145.) But we know that the letter, which Monmouth sent from the Tower, was actually received by the king, and that in consequence Feversham waited on Monmouth to receive his communication, which proved to be nothing more than what he had previously made.

After all it is most probable that this unfortunate nobleman had in reality nothing of great importance to disclose, and that he put forth these promises merely to excite curiosity and obtain an interview with the king. It was not the first time that he had employed such an artifice. Expressions of very similar import may be found in his letter to Charles II. at the time when he was charged as an accomplice in the

Rye-house plot. That he would endeavour to redeem his pledge during his conference with James, which lasted forty or fifty minutes, by making every discovery in his power, there can be no doubt. He is said to have narrated the whole progress of his own attempt, he might perhaps add what he had learned of the designs of William from his conversation with that prince, perhaps detail the particulars of the intrigue for the banishment of James towards the close of the last reign, so artfully conducted by Halifax, who, it will be observed, was soon after this interview dismissed from office by James with the remark that it was for reasons locked up within his own breast—but, whatever were the disclosures of Monmouth, they were not deemed of sufficient importance to atone for his repeated offences. James, in his letter to the prince of July 14th, says, “the duke of Monmouth and lord Grey desired very earnestly to speak with me, which they did, but did not answer my expectations in what they said to me.” According to Barillon, “il a déclaré n’avoir eu aucun secours de personne, et qu’il est venu ici avec deux cent piéces seulement, que les armes qu’il a achetées ne lui coutoient que 800 piéces, et que ses pierreries avoient été suffisantes. Il s’excusa de ce qu’il a fait sur les instances et les reproches de son parti qui l’accusoient de manquer de courage. Il espéroit une révolte sur plusieurs points d’Angleterre.—Il y a des gens qui croient que M. le duc de Monmouth a parlé contre le P. d’Orange. Mais je n’en ai rien pénétré; et par tout ce que je puis savoir, M. le duc de Monmouth n’a rien dit de fort important....Il demanda une seconde fois de parler au Roi d’A.; mais on ne le lui permit pas. Il parla seulement à mylord Feversham, à qui il ne dit rien de consequence.” Barillon, 23, 30 Juillet.

NOTE [C], Page 137.

EXTRAIT D'UNE LETTRE DE M. DE BONREPAUS À
M. DE SEIGNELAY.

4 Sept. 1687.

“ Un homme de condition de la cour d'Angleterre, qui a l'entière confiance de myl. Tirconnel, et dont il se sert pour toutes les affaires secrettes qu'il a à faire proposer au Roi son maitre, m'a dit que son ami lui avoit permis de s'ouvrir à moi sur la vue qu'il avoit, qu'en cas que le Roi d'A. vint à mourir, il prenoit des mesures pour ne point tomber sous la domination du P. d'Orange, et pour se mettre sous la protection du Roi. Il auroit souhaité que je fusse allé à Chester, où myl. Tirconnel doit se trouver, pour conférer ensemble sur ce projet. Mais comme j'ai connu par ses discours que l'intention de myl. Tirconnel étoit de demander qu'on fit à present dans les magasins des provisions d'armes, de selles, et d'autres choses, qu'il croit ne pouvoir trouver facilement en Irlande en cas de besoin, je n'ai pas cru devoir entrer dans une negociation de cette nature sans en avoir un ordre exprès. J'ai seulement dit que je garderois le secret, qu'on m'a fort reCOMMANDÉ, surtout à l'égard de M. de Barillon, qu'on craint à cause de myl. Sonderland, et que, si au retour de Chester, on avoit quelque chose de plus particulier à me dire, je vous en ecrirois pour recevoir les ordres du Roi, que cependant il me paroisoit que le Roi d'A. n'étoit point en état par son age ni par sa santé de faire songer à prendre des mesures si

éloignées. Ce même homme m'a dit que myl. Sonderland faisoit entendre à myl. Tirconnel que son dessein étoit de se retirer en Irlande en cas d'accident, mais que ce dernier ne se fioit point à l'autre. J'ai su aussi par le marquis d'Albeville que la plus grande inquiétude du P. d'Orange est que l'Irlande ne se met en état avant la mort du Roi d'A. de pouvoir se soustraire de sa domination, lorsqu'il viendra à la couronne. J'ai cru qu'il ne falloit point témoigner plus d'empressement pour une proposition de cette nature. On sera toujours assez à temps à revenir à un homme qui fait de ces sortes d'avances, si le Roi le trouve à propos. Je sais bien certainement que l'intention du Roi d'A. est de faire perdre ce royaume à son successeur, et de le fortifier en sorte que tous ses sujets catholiques y puissent avoir un azile assuré. Son projet est de mettre les choses en cet état dans le cours de cinq années. Mais myl. Tirconnel le presse incessamment pour que cela se fasse en moins de temps ; et effectivement sa M. B. y a envoyé depuis huit jours un vaisseau chargé de poudre, armes et mortiers à bombes, à la sollicitation de cet homme qui m'a parlé."

M. DE SEIGNELAY À M. DE BONREPAUS.

29 Sept. 1687.

" J'ai rendu compte au Roi de ce que vous m'écrivez sur ce qui vous a été proposé de la part de myl. Tirconnel, et S. M. trouve l'affaire très importante. Mais il faut que vous preniez bien garde avant de répondre à celui . . . qu'il ne le faut pas faire légèrement, ni sans être assuré qu'il a une creance positive de myl. Tirconnel. Cela étant, vous pouvez lui dire que le Roi agrée les propositions qu'il fait, et que, la conjoncture

arrivant de la mort du Roi d'A. s'il se trouvoit en état de se soutenir dans l'Irlande, il pourroit compter sur des secours considérables de la part de S. M. qui fera disposer toutes les choses nécessaires à Brest pour cet effet. Et comme une matière de cette importance demand un secret impénétrable, il est bon que vous l'assuriez que cela ne passera pas par M. de Barillon, et que vous preniez des mesures pour une correspondance directe avec myl. Tirconnel, afin qu'en cas de besoin on puisse discuter avec lui les conditions sous lesquelles S. M. lui pourroit accorder ses prétensions et les secours dont il auroit besoin, pour maintenir la religion catholique dans l'Irlande, et séparer ce royaume du reste de l'Angleterre, en cas qu'un prince protestant parvint à la couronne."

NOTE [D], Page 243.

In the spring of 1689 Sunderland published a vindication of himself (Cogan's Tracts, vol. iii.) in which he acknowledged his error in consenting to form part of an administration so hostile to the interests of the country, but maintained that instead of advising, he had always opposed those illegal and irritating measures which provoked the discontent of the people, and led to the expulsion of James. But the circumstances, in which he wrote, detract from his credit, and the despatches of his friend Barillon show that several of his assertions are false.

By the partisans of the exiled prince he was charged not only with having advised and promoted the measures which deprived James of his crown, but also

with having done it for that very purpose. But of the latter part of the charge there is no proof: and his conduct may be fairly explained, by attributing it to his desire of gratifying the king, and thus acquiring power. This is the light in which it was considered at the court, and by the foreign envoys.

That he was the pensionary of France, is certain. The payments and acquittances are still preserved. In return, he bound himself to communicate to the French ambassador whatever he might learn, which could affect the interests of the French king. But it was not to be expected that a man, who was unfaithful to his own sovereign, would be strictly faithful to his engagement to a foreign prince. "M. de Barillon," says Bonrepaus, "est très considéré en cette cour, et ami intime de myl. Sonderland, qui lui dit beaucoup de nouvelles, mais je ne suis si persuadé que lui, qu'il lui dise tout ce qu'il sait. J'ai eu occasion de lui faire remarquer des choses que myl. Sonderland ne lui avoit point dites." Bonrepaus, 4 Juin, 1687.

That he also betrayed the secrets of the king to his enemy the prince of Orange, has often been asserted; the charge, though never fully proved, is not devoid of probability.

On the $\frac{21}{11}$ July, 1678, Bonrepaus writes to Seignelay: "Myl. Sonderland semble être entièrement dévoué au Roi son maître, et va au delà de tout ce qu'il peut souhaiter pour l'avancement de la religion catholique, mais il fait connoître, de l'autre côté, que cette même conduite, dont il ne se cache point, doit persuader au prince d'Orange qu'il est capable de tout hasarder pour lui, lorsqu'il sera temps. Ce raisonnement est appuyé de la connoissance que j'ai, qu'il entretient un commerce secret avec le P. d'Orange par le moyen de sa femme. On leur prit, il y a quelque temps, des lettres

qu'elle écrivoit à Mr. Sydney, qui est presentement auprès du P. d'Orange, et fort bien avec lui. Le Roi d'A. a eu connoissance de ces lettres, que madame de Sonderland a desavouées; et myl. Sonderland s'est tiré d'affaire en disant que quand même ces lettres de sa femme ne seroient point supposées, il seroit impossible qu'il y eut aucun part: qu'on ne savoit que trop que sa femme étoit soupçonnée d'avoir un commerce de galanterie avec Sydney, et qu'il n'étoit pas vraisemblable qu'il mit toute sa fortune et sa vie entre les mains d'un homme qu'il doit haïr."

The contents of these intercepted letters are noticed in a memorial in the depot, in volume 154, Supplement, 1687, 1688. "Madame de Sonderland le prioit de faire comprendre au P. d'Orange que son mari étoit obligé de consentir malgré lui à tout ce qui se faisoit à l'avantage de la religion catholique; mais que puisque la fidelité qu'il devoit au Roi son maitre le forçoit d'agir contre ses propres sentiments, c'étoit une assez grande preuve de la fidelité qu'il auroit pour le P. d'Orange s'il se trouvoit en place lorsqu'il viendrait à la couronne. Ces lettres ont été desavouées de M. et de Mad. de Sonderland. Mais les soupçons ont été renouvelées à l'occasion du voyage que le S^r. Felton est allé faire en Hollande."

On the 1st of August, probably in consequence of this information, Louis wrote to Barillon: "J'apprends d'ailleurs que celui d'ont je vous écris a de grandes liaisons avec le P. d'Orange, et qu'il est même tellement attaché aux intérêts de ce prince, qu'il entretient des correspondences secrettes avec lui, non seulement contre mes intérêts, mais aussi contre ceux du Roi de la G. Bretagne. Ainsi vous devez observer de plus sa conduite, et lui faire connoître, que j'ai droit de me promettre qu'il vous avertira plus fidèlement à l'avenir

au moins de ce qu'il jugera bien pouvoir altérer la bonne intelligence, qu'il y a présentement entre moi et le Roi de la G. Bretagne."

Barillon defended his friend, as far at least as he durst, in his answer of August 14. "A l'égard des avis qu'a V. M. sur une correspondance secrète d'une personne considerable en ce pays-ci avec le P. d'Orange, je n'ai garde de contester un fait, ni de revoquer en doute la verité des avis que V. M. peut avoir, quoique cela n'ait aucun rapport avec tout ce que je sais. Je serai autant appliqué que je le dois à pénétrer ce qui en est. M. D'Avaux m'en avoit mandé quelque chose, il y a deux ou trois mois, mais je crus en ce temps là que cela n'avait d'autre fondement que des discours tenus ici, dont la personne intéressée s'est moquée. La chose en soi est si importante qu'on ne peut trop prendre de soin pour l'éclaircir. Je supplie cependant V. M. de suspendre son jugement, jusqu'à ce qu'on puisse, s'il est possible, découvrir la verité."

About the end of the year Louis informed Barillon that the same charge against Sunderland had been recently made by Skelton, the English ambassador at Paris. Barillon replied that he could discover nothing to confirm it: on the contrary Sunderland constantly acted in opposition to the views of the prince, was the warmest advocate of every measure in favour of the Catholics, and was even resolved to declare himself a Catholic, whenever the king should require it. Barillon, 9 Janvier, 1688.

On May 20, 1688, D'Avaux, in answer to an inquiry made by Louis, replies that most certainly the prince and princess of Orange are made acquainted with every thing that passes in the most secret councils of James; that he has often complained to Barillon of the many visits paid by Sydney to the prince; and that Barillon in answer has acknowledged the consideration which

Sunderland has for Sydney, and alleged the hardship it would be, to prevent the latter from paying his court to the prince, as he had nothing to hope from the king. D'Avaux concludes thus: "J'ai toujours crû que myl. Sunderland n'a pas été fâché, que M. de Sydney fut si bien auprès du P. d'Orange, pour avoir dans un changement de gouvernement un homme qui le maintint. Quoiqu'il en soit, on est persuadé ici, que M. de Sydney ignore peu de choses de ce que savent M. et M^c. de Sunderland, et il est certain que le P. d'Orange n'ignore rien de ce que sait le sieur de Sydney." D'Avaux, 20 Mai. *Negociat.* vi. 75. See also note to Burnet, 111. 301.

Though these passages contain no direct proof, the charge contained in them is strongly confirmed by a letter from the private cabinet of William, published by Dalrymple (p. 187). It is written to the prince by lady Sunderland on March 7, 1687; and in it she warns him of certain propositions to be offered to him by the king, advises him to reject them, and apologizes for having addressed him directly, on account of the absence of Mr. Sydney, the "only person whom she trusted."

Barillon, on the disgrace of Sunderland, was careful to inform his sovereign, that the king did not believe that Sunderland had betrayed him. On ^{Dec. 9,}_{Nov. 29,} he mentions him again, but in a different manner. "Myl. Sunderland est ici, et a quitté Windsor. Le Roi d'Angleterre s'explique durement à son sujet." James, in his memoirs, appears to countenance the belief of his duplicity and treachery. *Memoirs*, ii. 187.

At the revolution Sunderland left England for Amsterdam, but wrote to William that it was by the advice of his friends and not in pursuance of his own judgment: "for I thought I had served the public so importantly in contributing what lay in me towards

the advancing of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious ministry ought not to have obliged me to be absent." Mar. 8th, 1689. Dalrym. App. part 11, p. 3.

Some years later William gave 10,000*l.* to lord Dorset to quit the chamberlain's staff, which he bestowed upon Sunderland. "I have always been persuaded," says lord Hardwick, "from the signal confidence which king William reposed in this lord, through the whole course of his reign, that he had received some particular services from him at the time of the revolution, which no one else could have performed: and perhaps this reserved and cautious prince liked him the better for being only *his* man. Both parties (Whigs and Tories), and no wonder, were much embittered against him." Note to Burnet, iv. 369.

On the whole, there can be little doubt that Sunderland, to secure the favour of the prince of Orange, betrayed to him, occasionally at least, the secrets of his sovereign, in violation of his duty and his oath. His assertion that he had "contributed all that lay in him to the advancing of the revolution," may also be true; but most probably it was nothing more than an afterthought, artfully put forward for the purpose of claiming merit to himself for that from which he had hitherto incurred blame.

NOTE [E], Page 265.

The two following letters to Louis XIV. relate to the escape of the queen with her son. The first was written by Mary on her arrival on the French coast,

the second by James himself after his return from Faversham to London.

SIRE,

Une pauvre reine fugitive, et baignée dans ses larmes, n'a point eu de peine à s'exposer aux plus grands périls de la mer, pour venir chercher de la consolation et un asile auprès du plus grand roi, et du plus généreux monarque du monde. Sa mauvaise fortune lui procure un bonheur que les nations les plus éloignées ont ambitionné. La nécessité n'en diminue rien : puisqu'elle en a fait le choix, et que c'est par une estime singulière qu'elle veut lui confier ce qu'elle a de plus précieux en la personne du prince de Galles son fils. Il est encore trop jeune pour en partager avec elle sa juste reconnaissance. Elle est toute entière dans mon cœur, et je me fais un plaisir au milieu de tous mes chagrins, de venir à l'ombre de votre protection.

LA REINE D'ANGLETERRE.

MONSIEUR MON FRERE,

Comme j'espère que la reine ma femme et mon fils ont dès la semaine passée mis pied à terre en quelques uns de vos ports, j'espère que vous me ferez le plaisir de les protéger ; et sans que malheureusement je fus arrêté en chemin, j'y aurois été moi même pour vous le demander pour moi même aussi bien que pour eux. Votre ambassadeur vous rendra compte du mauvais état de mes affaires, et vous assurera aussi que je ne ferai jamais rien contre l'amitié qui est entre nous. Etant très sincèrement, Monsieur mon frere, votre bon frere,

JACQUES, Roi.

A Whitehall, ce $\frac{27}{17}$ Dec. 1688.

Louis, on the 14th of December, wrote to Barillon : —“ Je fus averti hier au matin par une lettre du comte

de Lauzun que la reine d'A. étoit heureusement arrivée à Calais avec le P. de Galles, après avoir évité de grands dangers, et j'ordonnai aussitôt au S^r. de Béringhen, mon premier ecuyer, de partir avec mes carosses et les officiers de ma maison pour servir cette princesse et le P. de Galles dans leur voyage, et leur rendre les honneurs qui leur sont dus dans tous les lieux de leur passage. Vous informerez le roi d'A. de ce que je vous écris"

NOTE [F], Page 287.

The following news-letter, which describes the reception of James by Louis at St. Germain's, may perhaps appear interesting to some of my readers.

A Versailles, le 7 Janvier, 1689.

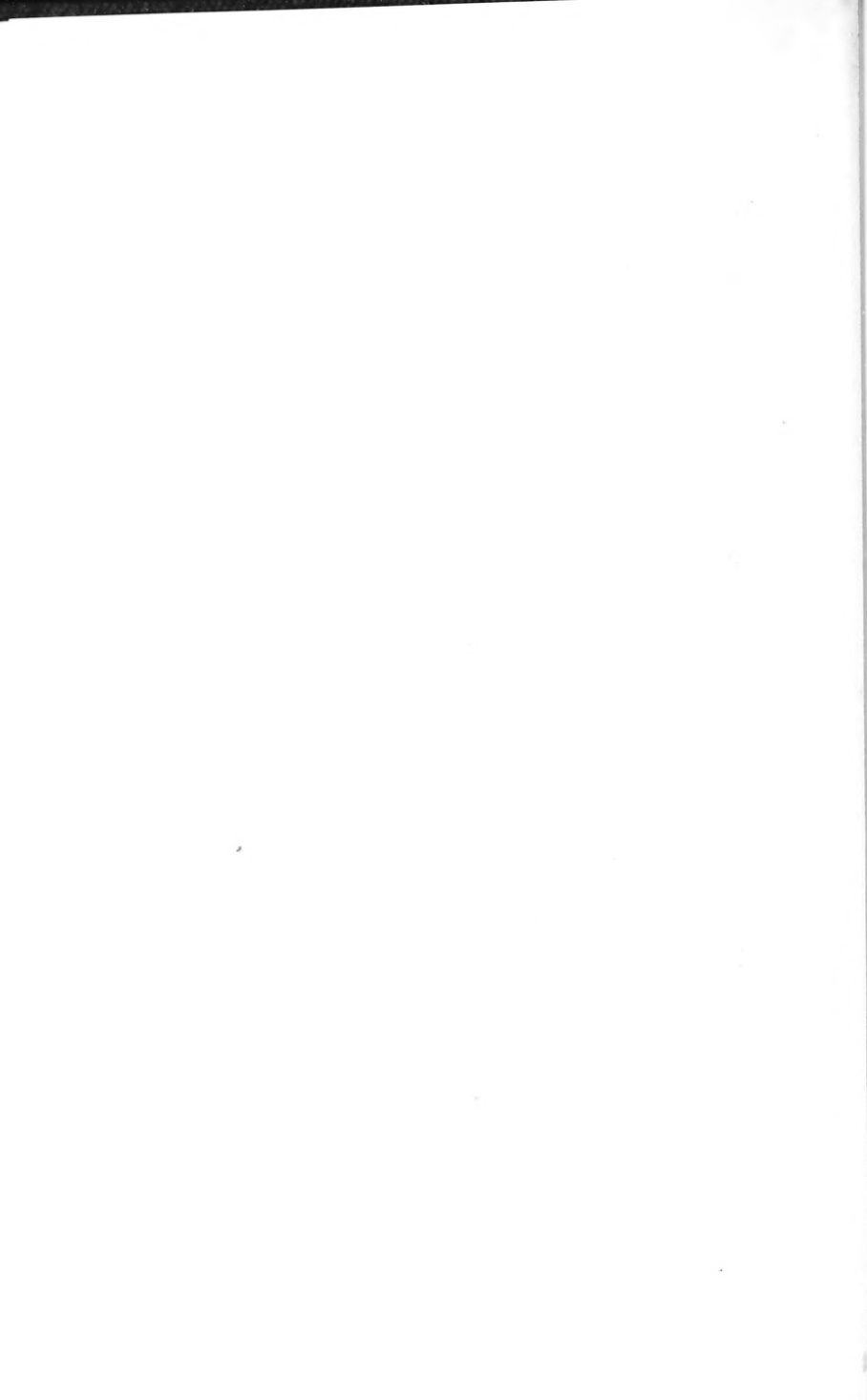
Le Roi alla hier après midi atteindre la reine d'A. jusqu'auprès Chaton. Dès qu'elle approcha, le Roi mit pied à terre, et elle descendit de carosse, aussi-tôt qu'elle l'aperçut. Le Roi, Monseigneur, et monsieur, la baisserent, et les princes de sang ne la baisserent pas. Le Roi, Monseigneur, et monsieur monterent dans son carosse, et la conduisirent à S. Germain en Laye. Le Roi lui donna la main jusque dans son appartement. Ils se traiterent réciproquement de majesté dans leurs discours. Elle appella toujours le Roi, sire, quoique la feuë reine et madame la dauphine ne l'appelloient que monsieur. Le Roi lui donna ensuite la main pour la mener dans l'appartement du prince de Galles, qui est celui des enfans de France à S. Germain, et là il la quitta sans qu'elle le conduisit. Le Roi

fit plus de caresses au Prince de Galles qu'il n'a jamais faites à ses propres enfans. Outre que la reine est servi magnifiquement à S. Germain, qu'on lui a donné toutes sortes d'officiers, et que le Roi la defraie dans toutes choses, elle a trouvé ce matin six mille Louis d'or sur sa toilette dans une cassette fort propre.

Le même jour, 7 du courant, l'entrevue du Roi et du Roi d'A. s'est faite en S. Germain en Laye. Le Roi y est arrivé à six heures du soir, et a été voir la reine d'A. qui étoit couchée. Il s'est assis au chevet de son lit, et y a demeuré environ demi heure, Monseigneur étant debout auprès de lui, et tous les courtisans dans la chambre. Environ sur les six heures on est venu dire au Roi, que le Roi d'Angleterre arrivoit. Il a ordonné qu'on le vint avertir, quand il commencerait à entrer dans la cour, et dès qu'on le lui est venu dire, il a quitté la reine, et est venu jusqu'environ au milieu de la salle des gardes. Et lorsque le roi d'A. a paru au haut du degré, il a avancé vers la porte, et ils se sont joints environ à six pas de la sentinelle au dedans de la salle. Dès que le roi d'A. l'a aperçut, il a commencé à s'abaisser, et en approchant de sa majesté il s'est baissé si bas, que le roi a eu de la peine à l'embrasser. Ils se sont embrassés à quatre ou cinq reprises, toujours également baissés, et cela a duré pres d'un pater noster, sans qu'on ait entendu ce qu'ils se sont dits dans ces embrassements. Incontinent le roi l'a mené dans la chambre de la reine, lui donnant la droite sur lui. Sa majesté l'a présenté en même temps à la reine en lui disant, " Madame, voilà un gentilhomme de votre connoissance, que je vous amene." Alors le roi d'A. a embrassé étroitement la reine son épouse en présence de tout le monde. Peu de temps après le Roi a mené lui-même le roi d'A. chez le prince de Galles, et après l'avoir reconduit à la ruelle du lit de la reine, ils se sont

séparés. Le roi d'A. a fait une démonstration de vouloir reconduire le roi, et sa majesté lui a dit " Monsieur, je crois que ni vous ni moi ne savons guère le cérémoniel de ces occasions, parce qu'elles sont fort rares, et ainsi je crois que nous ferons bien autant que nous pourrons d'en supprimer la cérémonie et l'embaras. C'est encore aujourd'hui chez moi. Vous voulez venir chez moi demain à Versailles, dont je ferai les honneurs, et après demain je reviendrai vous voir ici, et comme ce sera chez vous, vous en userez comme vous voudrez.

Le Roi d'A. avoit avec lui deux de ses enfans naturels. Il a paru avec un air assez gai, et assez riant, et la reine de son côté a paru comblée de joie. Le château de S. Germain est très superbement meublé, et magnifiquement éclairé. On a donné au roi et à la reine des valets de chambre, des huissiers, et toutes sortes d'autres officiers de même que le Roi a, des gardes du corps des cent suisses, des gardes de la prévôté, mais il n'y a point des gardes d'infanterie. Jamais toilette ne fut plus propre, plus magnifique ni plus abondante, et tout ce qu'on peut imaginer pour tous les besoins et la propreté la plus exquise des femmes, que celle qu'a trouvé la reine d'A. pour elle. Le Roi a donné au Roi d'A. pour son entretien, celui de la reine, et du prince de Galles, cinquante mille écus par mois.



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- Aston, sir Arthur, governor of Drogheda, besieged by Cromwell, xi. 38.
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- Augustine, St., introduces Christianity among the Saxons, i. 108; made bishop of Canterbury, 110; his conference with the British prelates, 112.
- Austria, Charles of, son of the emperor Ferdinand, succeeds his cousin Philip II. as a suitor for the hand of Elizabeth, vii. 405; makes an offer of marriage to Mary of Scots, 438; renews his overtures to Elizabeth, 453; consents to be content with the private exercise of his religion, 454; informed that he must renounce it entirely, on which he abandons the match, and marries the daughter of the duke of Bavaria, 455.
- , John of, natural son of the emperor Charles V. made governor of the Netherlands, viii. 132; forms a design of marrying Mary of Scots, and contending for the English crown, 133.
- Ayscue, admiral, returns from the reduction of Barbadoes, xi. 156; escapes from Van Tromp, 157; is set aside, 158; sent to the assistance of the king of Sweden, 373.
- Babington of Dethick, enters into a conspiracy against Elizabeth with Ballard, and concert the liberation of Mary of Scots, viii. 255; on Ballard's apprehension, he is sheltered by Walsingham, 258; arrested and executed with his associates, 259; his lands granted to sir Walter Raleigh, 261, *note*.
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- Barton, Eliz. the holy maid of Kent, accused of conspiracy, vi. 271 ; executed, 273.
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- Bastwick, Dr., fined and imprisoned for a treatise against episcopacy, x. 17 ; he and Prynne pilloried, 20 ; is imprisoned in the isle of Scilly, 22 ; his sentence, and that of Prynne and Barton reversed by the commons, 106.
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- Bedford, duke of, brother of Henry V. defeats the French fleet, and relieves Harfleur, blockaded by Armagnac, v. 36; regency of France conferred on him, 81; his character, *ibid.*; marries a sister of the duke of Burgundy, 82; marries Jacquetta of Luxembourg, 123; quarrels with the duke of Burgundy, *ibid.*; his death, 126.
- , Jacquetta, duchess of, her daughter, lady Elizabeth, married to Edward IV. v. 248; reports of witchcraft circulated against her, 260, *note*.
- , George Nevil, son of the earl of Northumberland, created duke of, preparatory to his proposed marriage with the eldest daughter of Edward IV. v. 266.
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- Belasyse, lord, he and four other catholic peers committed to the Tower, xiii. 86; impeachments against them, 136.
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- Bennet, sir Henry, see *Arlington*.
- , sir John, judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, impeached and fined, but pardoned by James I. ix. 253.
- Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, conducted to Naples by Eleanor, mother of Richard I. ii. 453; married to him at Lymesol, 456.
- Berkeley, sir J., the duke of York is ordered by his brother, Charles II. to dismiss him, xi. 282; returns with the duke to Bruges, *ibid.*; the enmity between him and Clarendon, and the different causes assigned for it, 283, *note*.

- Bernicia, kingdom of, founded by Ida, i. 98; united to Deira, 120 (see *Northumbria*); divided by Hildene among his followers, 239.
- Bethune, David, made cardinal, vi. 427; publishes the will of James V. vesting the regency in him and three others, 434; the will disregarded, and the earl of Arran appointed governor, 435; Bethune imprisoned, 436; recovers his liberty, 437; reconciled with Arran, 438; condemns to death George Wishart, a preacher, viii. 16; is assassinated, *ibid.*
- Bianchi, or Albati, a fanatical sect in Italy, iv. 376, *note*.
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- Biddle, John, the father of the English Unitarians, xi. 243, *note*.
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- Bishops, English, deposed by the Normans, ii. 41; Norman prelates, 42; election of bishops, iii. 19; the Scots deputies aim at their suppression, in the reign of Charles I. x. 113; petitions presented for their abolition, 114; a majority in parliament obtained by the reformers, *ibid.*; twelve bishops impeached by the commons, 163; bishops restored to seats in parliament at the restoration, xii. 45; their right to vote at the trial of peers discussed, xiii. 152.
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- Blackwall, the arch-priest, takes the oath of allegiance to James I. ix. 101; dies in prison, 102.
- Blake, admiral, proceeds to the Tagus to attack prince Rupert's fleet, xi. 144; takes two ships from Van Tromp, 153; defeated by him, 158; obtains a victory over him, 160; a second ditto, 218; captures a French flotilla, 230; burns an Algerine flotilla, 256; takes a Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, 321; dies while entering Plymouth harbour, 323; buried in Henry the Eighth's chapel, 324; his body afterwards disinterred by order of Charles, xii. 20, *note*.
- Blount, sir Thomas, partisan of Richard II. particulars of his execution, iv. 381, *note*.
- , sir Charles, son of lord Mountjoy, is distinguished by Elizabeth's notice, and thereby excites the jealousy of Essex, with whom he fights a duel, viii. 376.
- Blood, colonel, attempts to steal the crown, xii. 228; is not only pardoned by Charles II. but presented with an estate in Ireland, 230.
- Boadicea, revolts against the Romans, i. 36; defeated by Suetonius, 38; her death, 39.
- Bocher, Joan, itinerant preacher, executed for heresy, in the reign of Edward VI. vii. 101.

- Bohemia, John, king of, slain at the battle of Creci, iv. 69; his crest assumed by the prince of Wales, 70.
- Boleyn, Anne, her history, vi. 152; offer of marriage made to her by Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland, 154; her father made viscount Rochfort, *ibid.*; Henry's passion for her, 156; he resolves to marry her, 167; she catches the sweating sickness, 186; has an establishment at court, 198; seconds the endeavours of Wolsey's enemies to disgrace him, 207; Clement's breve against her cohabitation with the king, 246; accompanies Henry to France, 247; privately married to him, 250; is crowned, 259; and delivered of the princess Elizabeth, *ibid.*; her indecent conduct on the death of Catherine, 310; her jealousy of Jane Seymour, *ibid.*; imprisoned on suspicion of an intrigue with sir Henry Norris, 311; her incoherent behaviour in prison, 312; her trial, 315; a divorce pronounced by Cranmer, 321; she is beheaded, 323; Henry's cruelty towards her, 325; arguments for and against her innocence, 505.
- , Mary, elder sister of Anne Boleyn, supplanted by her in the affections of Henry VIII. vi. 152.
- Bolinbroke, Roger, chaplain to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, accused of sorcery, v. 154.
- Bolton, Robert, sir T. Gascoigne's agent, accuses him and others of a conspiracy against Charles II. xiii. 206; publishes the "Papists' Bloody Oath, &c." *ibid.*, *note*.
- Boniface VIII. endeavours to protect the Scots from Edward I. on the plea of the kingdom belonging to the papal see, iii. 313.
- Bonner, bishop of London, commanded to preach according to the new service, vii. 82; deprived by Cranmer and imprisoned, 84; deputed by Gardiner to conduct the prosecutions of heretics, 264; reprimanded for want of zeal, 266.
- Booth, sir George, heads a rising in Cheshire against the parliament, xi. 398; trial of his son, lord Delamere, xiv. 91.
- Bothwell, earl of, hereditary admiral of Scotland, taken into favour by Mary of Scots, and made one of her ministers, vii. 471; he and Murray prevail upon her to pardon Maitland, *ibid.*; suspected of a criminal intimacy with the queen, *ibid.*, *note*; joins Murray and Maitland's conspiracy against Darnley, 475; they enter into a bond to murder him, 476; obtain Morton's subscription to the bond, and permission for him to return from exile, 477; Bothwell is accused of Darnley's murder, 482; tried and acquitted, 483; the parliament enter into a bond declaratory of his innocence, 487; he seizes on the queen's person and conducts her to Dunbar, 488; Mary consents to marry him, 489; he is divorced from his wife for that purpose, 492; is created duke of Orkney, and is married to her at Holyroodhouse, 493; Morton and other nobles associate against him, and form a plot to seize him and the queen, viii. 3; he is permitted to retire, and Mary returns to Edinburgh, 5; he signifies, from Denmark, his consent to a divorce, 45; dies in Denmark, 191, *note*.

- Bouvines, battle of, between John and Philip Augustus; John defeated, iii. 52.
- Bradshaw, John, chosen to sit as president at the trial of Charles I. x. 446; account of him, *ibid.*, *note*; takes an active part in the new government, xi. 6; protests against Cromwell's expulsion of the parliament, 172; proposed as speaker in opposition to Lenthall, 235; becomes one of the leaders of the opposition, 236; his body disinterred and hung up at Tyburn, xii. 19.
- Brandon, sir Charles, created duke of Suffolk, vi. 38. See *Suffolk*.
- , lord, tried as one of Monmouth's associates, but pardoned through the influence of his sister-in-law, one of James's mistresses, xiv. 89.
- Bread, assize of, in the reign of John, iii. 13, *note*.
- Breda, Charles II.'s declaration from, preparatory to his recall, xi. 441.
- Bretagne, acquired by Henry II. by the marriage of his son Geoffry to the heiress of Conan, earl of Richmond, ii. 324.
- , Anne of, Maximilian, king of the Romans, and other suitors, solicit her hand, v. 400; assisted by Henry VII. against Charles VIII. 405; married by proxy to Maximilian, 408; but is afterwards compelled to marry the king of France, 409.
- Bretwalda, meaning of the title, i. 105; Ælla, first Bretwalda, 106; Ceawlin, second, *ibid.*; Ethelbert, third, 108; Redwald, fourth, 116; Edwin, fifth, 120; Oswald, sixth, 128; Oswio, seventh, 134; Egbert, eighth, 208.
- Bridgman, sir Orlando, chief justice of the Common Pleas, succeeds Clarendon as chancellor, xii. 179; the great seal taken from him and given to Shaftesbury, 257.
- Brihtric, king of Wessex, poisoned by his wife Eadburga, i. 204.
- Bristol, Digby, earl of, sent to Philip IV. to negotiate the match between the infanta, his sister, and prince Charles, son of James I. ix. 273; sends a messenger to prevent the prince's journey to Spain, 278; Buckingham's jealousy of him, 283; Bristol is recalled to England, where he is detained a prisoner in his own house, 292; is accused of treason, 346; sent to the Tower, 354.
- , earl of, openly reproaches Charles II. with his indolence, &c., xii. 175; impeaches Clarendon, *ibid.*; supports the test act, although a catholic, 270; obtains a pension for himself and wife, with an exemption from the test, 271.
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- , grandson of the preceding, murders John Comyn of Badenoch, Baliol's nephew, *iii.* 370; reasons assigned by Scottish historians, 371; assumes the title of king, but is reduced to the state of an outlaw, 374; escapes to the island of Ráchrin, 375; his wife imprisoned, 376; his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, executed, 377; takes Perth, 401; defeats Edward II. at Bannockburn, 405; obtains the release of his wife, sister, &c. in return for the earl of Hereford, 406; refused the title of king by Edward, 407; settles the succession, *ibid.*; proceeds to Ireland and joins his brother Edward, 414; returns, 415; refuses to acknowledge the truce with England proclaimed by the pope, 425; sends a force against Isabella at York, 427; concludes the truce, 428.
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- , Edward, lands in Ireland, where he is joined by the O'Nials, *iii.* 411; is crowned, 413; joined by his brother, 414; falls in battle against John, lord Birmingham, 418.
- Brunanburgh, splendid victory gained at, by Athelstan, *i.* 290.
- Buckhurst, lord, sent to allay the discontent of the Belgians against Leicester, *viii.* 314; imprisoned in his own house for preferring accusations against the earl on his return, 320.
- Buckingham, duke of, asserts Gloucester's pretensions to the crown, *v.* 336; confederates against Richard III. in favour of the earl of Richmond, 345; his pedigree, 348, *note*; commences hostilities against Richard, 349; makes his escape in disguise, is taken and executed, 351.
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- , Stafford, duke of, offends Wolsey, *vi.* 73; misled by the predictions of Hopkins, 74; arrested and tried, 76; executed, 77.
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- , George Villiers, duke of, son of sir Edward Villiers, account of his rise, *ix.* 151; becomes Somerset's rival, 153; his power, 220; accompanies prince Charles to Spain on his visit to the infanta, 277; is made duke, 281; his enemies at home take advantage of his absence, 285; he quarrels with the Spanish minister Olivarez, and disgusts the Spaniards by his conduct, 286; determines to break off the prince's match, 288; procures the recal of Bristol, the English ambassador,

292 ; becomes popular on his return, for having opposed the match, and forms a coalition with the country party, 296 ; relates to parliament all the transactions relative to the proceedings in Spain, 298 ; accused to James of forming a plot against him, 308 ; recovers the king's favour, 310 ; concludes a league between England and the United Provinces, 312 ; retains his influence over Charles after the death of his father, 326 ; he is governed by his favourite, the earl of Holland, 337 ; negotiates a treaty with Denmark, 338 ; forbidden by Richelieu to visit Paris, *ibid.* ; the commons resolve to impeach him, 344 ; charges brought against him, 350 ; he is made chancellor of Cambridge, 351 ; his defence against the charges, 352 ; Charles dissolves the parliament to prevent the reply of the commons, 354 ; Buckingham's passion for Anne of Austria, 359 ; he appears before Rochelle, 370 ; makes a descent on the island of Rhé, *ibid.* ; publishes a manifesto in defence of his proceedings, 372 ; his loss of troops, 374 ; Dr. Lamb, his physician, murdered by the mob, 391 ; prepares to take the command of a force to succour Rochelle, 392 ; is assassinated by Felton, 393 ; his character, 395 ; his debts paid by the king, 396 ; punishment of his assassin, 397.

Buckingham, duke of, is banished from court by Charles II. and affects the character of a patriot, xii. 156 ; is challenged by lord Ossory, 159, *note* ; deprived of his offices, and ordered to surrender to the lieutenant of the Tower, 177 ; kills the earl of Shrewsbury in a duel, 192 ; is challenged by Coventry, 198 ; shows his enmity to the duke of York, *ibid.* ; opens a negociation with the duchess of Orleans, 200 ; sets up the duke of Monmouth as a competitor for the succession, 210 ; suggests to the king a divorce, 211 ; Louis bestows a pension on lady Shrewsbury, Buckingham's mistress, 232 ; his extravagance and licentiousness, 234 ; proceedings against him and the other ministers, 289 ; is dismissed and joins Shaftesbury, 304.

Burgh, Hubert de, the justiciary, defeats the French fleet in the reign of Henry III. iii. 101 ; the exercise of the royal authority confided to him, 107 ; marries one of the Scottish princesses, 108 ; takes Bedford Castle from Fawkes, 111 ; his influence and power, 114 ; commanded to give an account of his wardships, &c. 115 ; imprisoned, 116 ; restored to his estates, 117.

Burgundy, John the Fearless, duke of, releases Isabella, queen of Charles VI. from Tours, v. 40 ; enters Paris in triumph with her, after the massacre of the Armagnacs, 46.

———, Margaret, duchess of, furnishes her nephew, the earl of Lincoln, with assistance for Lambert Simmiell, the pretended earl of Warwick, v. 390 ; acknowledges the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck, 416.

Burleigh, lord (see *Cecil*), suggests to Elizabeth a marriage with the duke of Anjou, viii. 82 ; suspected by her of holding a secret correspondence with the queen of Scots, 187 ; tenders his resignation, on the queen's refusing to listen to the remon-

- strances of the council in her quarrel with Leicester, 248; resigns his place to his son sir Robert Cecil, 397; his death, 416.
- Burley, sir Simon, favourite of Richard II. imprisons a burgher of Gravesend, iv. 237; his pardon solicited by the king, of the duke of Gloucester, 299; beheaded, 300.
- Burnet, bishop, defends polygamy, or divorce, in the case of Charles II. xii. 211; loses Charles's favour by his treachery towards Lauderdale, 313, *note*; his arguments with lord Russell prior to the latter's execution, xiii. 335, *note*; revises Russell's written speech, 337; visits Holland, and acquires great influence over the prince and princess of Orange, xiv. 172; pronounced a fugitive for refusing to return when cited to appear to answer the libellous publications traced to him, 186; composes a memorial supposed to be presented by the English protestants to the States, 230.
- Burrhed, king of Mercia, assisted by Ethelwulf against the Welsh, i. 215; aided by Ethelred against the Danes, 229; negotiates with the Danes, 236; abandons his kingdom, 237; dies at Rome, *ibid.*
- Burton, Henry, preaches against the bishops, x. 18; imprisoned in Guernsey, 22.
- Cabal, members of the cabinet so called in the reign of Charles II. xiii. 232.
- Cade, John, assumes the name of Mortimer, and excites an insurrection in Kent, v. 182; defeats the royalists at Sevenoaks, and kills sir Humphry Stafford, 183; enters London, 184; the insurgents dispersed, 186; Cade killed, *ibid.*
- Cadiz, Drake's expedition against, viii. 315; victory of the English at, 392; expedition against, in 1625; ix. 336.
- Cadwan, king of North Wales, affords an asylum to Edwin, i. 118.
- Cædwalla, king of North Wales, joins with Penda against Northumbria, i. 127; vanquishes Osric, and puts Eanfrid to death, 129; defeated by Oswald and slain, 130.
- , prince of Wessex, flees from Centwin, i. 190; made king, 191; conquers the Isle of Wight, 192; puts to death the brother of Oswald, governor of the island, *ibid.*; enters Kent, and avenges the death of his brother Mollo, 193; goes to Rome to be baptized by the pope, 194; dies, *ibid.*
- Calais, besieged by Edward III. iv. 70; surrenders to him, 76; retaken, in the reign of Mary, by the duke of Guise, vii. 321; taken by the Spaniards, in the reign of Elizabeth, viii. 390.
- Caledonia, invaded by Agricola, i. 43; incursions of the natives against the Romans, 54.
- Camelodunum, Roman city, burnt by the Britons, i. 37.
- Cambridge, Richard, earl of, forms a conspiracy against his cousin, Henry V. v. 14; is executed, 16.
- , university of, its dispute with James II. on his ordering them to admit a Benedictine monk, xiv. 148.

- Cameronians, a fanatic sect of the Scotch covenanters, xiii. 294; they excommunicate Charles II. 296.
- Campeggio, cardinal, sent by Clement VII. to England to conduct the proceedings relative to Henry VIII.'s divorce, vi. 184.
- Campion, Edward, a jesuit, comes over to England with Persons, viii. 171; his letter declaratory of the purpose of his mission, 173; is arrested, 175; examined before Elizabeth, 177; tried, 178; executed, 180.
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Dacres, Leonard, raises troops for the purpose of joining Westmoreland and Northumberland in their insurrection in favour of Mary of Scots, but finding their cause desperate, turns against them, viii. 61 ; afterwards openly opposes Elizabeth, is defeated by lord Hunsdon, and escapes into Flanders, *ibid.*

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- Dangerfield, the principal actor in the meal-tub plot, account of, xiii. 199; sent to Newgate, 202; his confessions, *ibid.*; obtains a full pardon, 203; employed by lord Powis to assassinate Shaftesbury, *ibid.*
- Darnley, earl of, grandson of Margaret, sister to Henry VIII. suggested to Mary, queen of Scots, as a husband, by his mother, the countess of Lennox, vii. 442; Elizabeth's opposition to the match, 444; a plot formed to prevent it by Murray and his associates, and to murder Darnley and his father, 445; created duke of Albany, by Mary, and married to her, 447; disgusts her by his capricious temper and dissolute conduct, 455; is refused by her the grant of a matrimonial crown, 456; sides with the exiled and discontented lords, 457; aids in Rizzio's murder, 461; his repentance, 463; returns with Mary to Edinburgh, *ibid.*; a new administration formed, contrary to his wishes, 471; he resolves to quit the kingdom, but is prevailed upon to remain, *ibid.*; conspiracy formed against him by Murray, Maitland, Bothwell, &c. 474; he is murdered in a house called the Kirk of Field, while ill of the small-pox, by the building being blown up by gunpowder, 479.
- David I. of Scotland, invades England, to maintain the rights of his niece Matilda against Stephen, ii. 231; renews hostilities, 234; wins the battle of the Standard, 236; concludes peace with Stephen, 239.
- II. succeeds his father, Robert Bruce, iv. 20; marries Joan, sister of Edward III. 21; invades England, 71; taken prisoner at the battle of Nevil's-cross, 73; imprisoned in the Tower, 74; ransomed, 110; his death, 111.
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- Day, bishop of Chichester, refuses to remove the altars in his diocese, vii. 88; he and the bishop of Worcester deprived of their sees, *ibid.*
- De Dominis, Marco Antonio, archbishop of Spalatro, abjures popery, comes to England, and is made dean of Windsor, ix. 239, *note*.
- Delamere, lord, son of sir G. Booth, tried as one of Monmouth's associates, xiv. 70; declares himself in favour of William, on that prince's landing in England, 250.
- Delvin, lord, joins Tyrone and Tyrconnel, ix. 195; imprisoned in Dublin-castle, 198; escapes, *ibid.*; pardoned by James I. and created earl of Westmeath, 199; refuses to abjure catholicism, 207.

- Denis, St., battle of, between the prince of Orange and the duke of Luxembourg, xiii. 58.
- Denmark, treaty concluded with, by Cromwell, xi. 234, *note* ; prevailed upon by Louis XIV. to break the alliance with Charles, and join Holland, xii. 143 ; treaty signed with England, 172.
- , George, prince of, marries the princess Anne, xiii. 359 ; deserts with the duke of Ormond, &c. to the prince of Orange, xiv. 255.
- Derby, Hugh de Hastings, earl of, governor of Kenilworth, refuses to yield obedience to Henry III. iii. 203.
- , Henry, earl of, sent by Edward III. to Guienne, iv. 57 ; takes Auberoche, *ibid.* ; defends Aiguillon against John, duke of Normandy, 75 ; takes Poitiers, 76.
- , earl of, joins the royalists on Charles II.'s advance from Scotland into England, xi. 78 ; surprised by Lilburn, and escapes to Boscobel-house, *ibid.*
- Dermot, king of Leinster, driven from Ireland by O'Ruarc, enlists earl Strongbow and other adventurers to assist him, ii. 362 ; subdues Donald, chief of Ossory, 363 ; marches against Dublin, 365 ; his death, *ibid.*
- Deshorough, marries Anne Cromwell, the protector's sister, xi. 303, *note* ; opposes the latter's aim at the title of king, 303, 310.
- Desmond, earl of, in the reign of Henry VIII. enters into a treaty with Francis I. vi. 88.
- D'Estrades, governor of Dunkirk, overtures made to him by Cromwell to deliver up that fortress, xi. 229 ; comes to England and negotiates with Clarendon for the sale of that place to Louis, xii. 96.
- Devonshire, Courteney, earl of, Mary's partiality for, vii. 176 ; his licentious conduct, 177, *note* ; his pretensions favoured by Gardiner, 180, ditto ; enters into a conspiracy against Mary, 198 ; instigates sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, 211 ; committed to the Tower, 225 ; confronted with Wyatt, and accused by him, 226 ; removed to Fotheringhay-castle, 229 ; personated by Cleobury, for the purpose of exciting rebellion, 300 ; dies at Padua, *ibid.*
- , lord, on being fined for striking colonel Culpepper, claims the privilege of the peerage, and at the revolution the proceedings against him are declared a breach of privilege, xiv. 179, *note*.
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- , sir Kenelm, comes from Ireland to effect a conciliation between the commonwealth and the Irish catholics, xi. 32.
- , lord, son of the earl of Bristol, opposes the bill for Strafford's attainder, x. 124 ; impeached of high treason, 169 ; defeated at Sherburn, 317.
- Digges, sir Dudley, impeaches the duke of Buckingham, ix. 350 ;

- he and Elliot sent to the Tower, 351 ; changes his politics and obtains the reversion of the mastership of the rolls, 408.
- Dispensing power of the crown, question respecting, xiv. 104 ; it is affirmed by the judges that it cannot be taken from the sovereign, 106 ; is abolished at the revolution, 107.
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- Dorchester, Catherine Sedley, countess of, mistress to James II. account of, xiv. 98 ; James dismisses her on the remonstrance of the lord-chancellor, &c. and she goes to Ireland, 100 ; but returns and is again visited by him, 101 ; her intimacy with Rochester, 102, *note* ; afterwards marries lord Portmore, 99, *note*.
- Dorislaus, Dr., envoy from parliament to the States of Holland, assassinated at the Hague by Montrose's followers, xi. 24.
- Dorset, marquis of, proceeds with an army to Spain, in the reign of Henry VIII. vi. 14 ; protests against the invasion of Navarre by Ferdinand, 15.
- Dort, synod of, ix. 174 ; two bishops sent by James I. 175 ; Grotius imprisoned, the works of Vorstius condemned, and the arminians banished, 176.
- Douay, catholic seminary, established at, in the reign of Elizabeth, by W. Allen, viii. 168 ; Elizabeth's council applies to the governor of the Netherlands for its dissolution, *ibid.* ; removed to Rheims, 169.
- Dover, surrenders to William the Conqueror, ii. 5 ; attacked by Eustace, count of Boulogne, 22.
- Douglas, sir Archibald, regent of Scotland, relieves Berwick, which is besieged by the English, and lays siege to Bamborough-castle, iv. 26 ; slain at the battle of Halidon-hill, against Edward III. 27.
- Downing, English resident at the Hague, his character, xi. 115 ; escapes to England to avoid the vengeance of the mob, 241.
- Drake, sir Francis, returns with the remains of the adventurers in Hawkins's fleet, viii. 307 ; his piratical attack on the Spaniards, *ibid.* ; circumnavigates the globe, 308 ; returns home laden with treasure, and is knighted by Elizabeth, 309 ; is sent to the West Indies, and burns St. Jago, &c., 310 ; his expedition against Cadiz, 315 ; he and Norris command the expedition against Corunna, 372 ; he and Hawkins fail in an expedition to the West Indies, 391.
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- Drunkenness, a failing among the ladies of the court of James I. ix. 109, *ibid.*, *note*.

- Dudley, lord Guilford, son of the duke of Northumberland, marries lady Jane Gray, vii. 134; executed, 220.
- , sir Henry, his conspiracy against Mary, in favour of Elizabeth, vi. 296.
- , lord Robert, becomes the avowed favourite of queen Elizabeth, vii. 411; suspected of having been privy to his wife's death, 412; report of an intended marriage between him and the queen, *ibid.*; prevails upon her to assist the French huguenots, 418; proposed as a husband to Mary of Scots, 440; created earl of Leicester, 443. See *Leicester*.
- Dunbar, victory of Edward I. over the Scots at, iii. 299.
- Dundee, attacked by Monk, who massacres the garrison, xi. 140.
- Dunkirk, negotiations between Cromwell and the court of France relative to, xi. 299; siege of, 342; it capitulates, and is given up to the English, 345; sold by Charles II. to France, xii. 96.
- Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, and one of Edred's ministers, i. 308; expelled from his monastery by Edwy, 314; proceeds to Ghent, *ibid.*; recalled by Edgar, 318; raised to the see of London, *ibid.*; to that of Canterbury, 319; accident at Colne attributed to his contrivance, 335; cause of his banishment discussed, 513.
- Durham, massacre of the Normans at, ii. 29.
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- Eadbald, succeeds his father Ethelbert, i. 115; relapses from the christian faith, *ibid.*; returns to it, 116.
- Eadbert, a priest, chosen king of Kent, i. 180; deposed by Cenulf, 181.
- Eadburga, daughter of Offa, poisons her husband Brihtric, king of Wessex, i. 204; escapes to France, 205; dies in beggary, *ibid.*
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- Ealdorman, office and authority of, i. 473.
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- Easterlings, or Merchants of the Steel-yard, their wealth and influence, vii. 338; deprived of their privileges by Mary, 339.
- Ecclesiastical courts, origin of, ii. 294; contests between them and the civil courts, 301.
- Edgar, son of Edmund, succeeds his brother Edwy, i. 317; recalls Dunstan, 318; becomes king of Wessex, *ibid.*; tranquillity of his reign, 319; favours the Northumbrians, 320; his annual naval expeditions, 322; his power, 323; wolves exterminated in Wales, 324; cedes Lothian to the king of Scotland, *ibid.*; his exemplary administration of justice, *ibid.*; punishes the inhabitants of Thanet, 325; restores monastic establishments, 328; his love of magnificence, 329; crowned

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- Edgar Etheling, great nephew to Edward the Confessor, earldom of Oxford bestowed on, by Harold, i. 435; proclaimed king on the death of Harold, ii. 7; submits to William the Conqueror, 8; generously treated by him, 13; asylum afforded him by Malcolm III. of Scotland, 28; submits to, and has a pension assigned him by the Conqueror, 54; deprived of his estates in Normandy by William II. 116.
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- Edgiva, sister of Athelstan, and wife of Charles the Simple, i. 294; marries the count of Meaux, 295; imprisoned by her son, *ibid.*
- Edilfrid, son-in-law of Ælla, his conquests, i. 116; pursues Edwin, 118; defeated by Redwald, 119; dies in battle, 120; his son Oswald, 128.
- Editha, sister of Athelstan, married to Otho, son of the emperor Henry the Fowler, i. 296.
- , daughter of earl Godwin, marries Edward the Confessor, i. 404.
- Edmund, king of the East Angles, put to death by the Danes, i. 228.
- , second king of England, succeeds his brother Athelstan, i. 299; opposes Anlaf, 300; pacification entered into between them, 301; conquers Northumbria, *ibid.*; and Cumbria, 302; his death, 303; succeeded by his brother Edred, 304.
- Ironside, succeeds his father Ethelred, i. 364; besieged in London by Canute, *ibid.*; gains the battle of Searstan, 366; defeats the Danes at Oxford, 367; defeated at Ashdown, 368; divides the kingdom with Canute, *ibid.*; his death, 369.
- Edmund, earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III. the crown of Sicily bestowed on him by Innocent IV. iii. 146; his claim disputed by Manfred, prince of Taranto, 147; sent by his brother Edward II. to negotiate with Philip III. of France, 292; his death, 297.
- , Rich., archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry III., account of, iii. 239; voluntarily resigns his see and retires to France, *ibid.*
- Edred, succeeds his brother Edmund, i. 304; effects the final subjugation of Northumbria, 305; his ministers, Torketul, 306; and Dunstan, 308; his death, 309.
- Edward, son of Alfred the Great, succeeds him, i. 272; opposed by his cousin Ethelwold, 273; takes possession of Mercia, 274; attacks the northern Danes, 275; his successes, 277; his death, 278; family, *ibid.*; his conquests, 279; ecclesiastical affairs, 280.
- , the Martyr, succeeds his father Edgar, i. 333; opposed by his stepmother Elfrida, 334; murdered by her order, 335.
- , the Confessor, son of Ethelred, makes an unsuccessful

attempt to hinder Harold's succession to the crown, i. 388; Hardecante's generosity towards him, 397; succeeds that prince, 398; his mild character, 399; severity towards his mother, 401; Magnus, king of Denmark, lays claim to the English crown, 402; Edward marries Editha, 404; rebellion of the Godwins, 406; he solicits the assistance of William of Normandy, 410; pardons the Godwins, 412; abolishes the Dane-gelt, 417; assists Malcolm, prince of Scotland, against Macbeth, 418; civil war, 419; Wales subdued by Harold, 422; his intended pilgrimage to Rome opposed by the witan, 423; sends for his nephew Edward from Germany, *ibid.*; who dies suddenly, 424; rebuilds the church of St. Peter, Westminster, 430; dies, *ibid.*; his exemplary character, 431.

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I. eldest son of Henry III. espouses the interests of the barons in their disputes with the king, iii. 172; excites their jealousy, 175; takes refuge in Windsor castle, 176; challenges the earls of Leicester and Derby, 183; routs the Londoners, Leicester's adherents, at the battle of Lewes, 184; but the king is taken prisoner, 185; Edward and his cousin, Henry d'Almaine, retained as hostages by Leicester, 186; effects his escape by the aid of the earl of Gloucester, 196; defeats Leicester's son, 199; defeats and kills Leicester at the battle of Evesham, 200; reduces the cinque ports to obedience, 202; subdues in single combat, and afterwards pardons, Adam Gordon, 203; engages with Louis IX. in an expedition to the Holy Land, 210; on arriving at Tunis finds him dead, *ibid.*; returns to Italy, 211; his cousin, Henry d'Almaine, assassinated, *ibid.*; Edward is urged by his father to return, 213; but sails to the Holy Land, 247; is wounded by an emissary of the emir of Joppa, who endeavours to assassinate him, 248; returns to Europe, and learns on his route through Calabria his father's death, 249; does homage to Philip III. of France, 251; stops in Guicune to quell the disorders there, *ibid.*; gains a prize at a tournament, 252; his treaty with the earl of Flanders, 254; his coronation, 255; proceeds against Llewellyn for refusing to do homage, 257; joined by David, Llewellyn's brother, *ibid.*; reduces Llewellyn to terms, 258; both brothers rebel and lay waste the marches, 261; Edward reduces Anglesey, 262; Llewellyn is slain, 263; Edward refuses to pardon David, 264; causes him to be hanged, 265; after subjugating Wales endeavours to civilize it, and introduces the English jurisprudence, 266; his son Edward born in Carnarvon castle, 267; acts as mediator between the kings of France, Arragon, and Sicily, *ibid.*; plans a marriage between his son Edward and Margaret, the infant queen of Scotland, 271; claims the right of settling the succession on Margaret's death, 274; Baliol chosen king, and swears fealty to Edward, 283; Edward accuses him of disobedience, 288; quarrel

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Edward II. succeeds his father, Edward I. iii. 380 ; recalls Piers Gaveston, and creates him earl of Cornwall, 382 ; makes him regent, on his departure for France, 383 ; marries Isabella, daughter of Philip le Bel, *ibid.* ; his coronation, *ibid.* ; the barons petition for the banishment of Gaveston, 384 ; petition of the commons against oppressions, 386 ; Gaveston returns, and the barons consent to his remaining, 382 ; Edward summons a parliament at York, and the barons refuse to attend, 389 ; is obliged to consent to a committee for the redress of grievances, *ibid.* ; is rejoined by Gaveston, on whom he confers fresh favours, 390 ; receives the articles of reform, 391 ; meets Gaveston at York, after the return of the latter from Flanders, 393 ; reconciled with the barons, 398 ; loses various fortresses in Scotland, 401 ; his military preparations impeded by the barons and clergy, 402 ; defeated by Bruce at Bannockburn, 405 ; returns to England by sea, 406 ; refuses Bruce the title of king, 407 ; disaffection among the Irish, 408 ; they are joined by Edward Bruce, 410 ; the king sends John de Hotham to

treat with them, 411 ; Bruce crowned, 413 ; Edward complains to the pope, and the Irish present a memorial to him justifying their conduct, 414 ; dreadful famine and pestilence in England for three years, 419 ; his designs on Scotland during the absence of Robert Bruce in Ireland frustrated by the disobedience of the nobles, 423 ; submits to the truce between England and Scotland proclaimed by the pope, 424 ; which is rejected by Bruce, 425 ; the Scots take Berwick, &c., 426 ; the Scots advance against the queen at York, and slaughter the force raised by the archbishop, 427 ; truce concluded, 430 ; the barons oppose the influence of the Spensers, 431 ; the Spensers are banished, 434 ; Edward takes Ledes castle, executes the governor, and imprisons lady Badlesmere, 435 ; the Spensers return, 436 ; the earl of Lancaster joins the Scots, 437 ; the earl taken and executed, 439 ; revision of the ordinances, 440 ; the petitions of the Spensers granted, 441 ; inroads of the Scots, who pursue the king to York, 442 ; sir A. Harclay (earl of Carlisle) executed for conspiring with them, 443 ; truce with Scotland for thirteen years, 444 ; Mortimer escapes and goes over to Charles le Bel, 445 ; Charles invades Guienne, 446 ; the queen goes to France, 447 ; Edward sends his son to do homage to Charles in his stead, 448 ; the queen and prince refuse to return, 449 ; Edward's letter to the queen, 450, *note* ; ditto to his son, 451, *note* ; he declares war against Charles, 452 ; the queen returns with a force and is joined by great numbers, 453 ; she publishes a proclamation against Spenser, 455 ; Edward flees to the Isle of Lundy, 457 ; the elder Spenser taken and executed, *ibid.* ; Edward gives himself up to the earl of Leicester, and is confined in Kenilworth castle, 459 ; the younger Spenser executed, 460 ; the prince is declared king, and Edward deposed, 462 ; and murdered at Berkley castle, 468 ; his character, 469.

Edward III. sent by his father (at the age of twelve) to do homage to his uncle, Charles le Bel, for Guienne, *iii.* 448 ; opposes his father's orders, 451 ; contracted by his mother Isabella to Philippa, daughter of the count of Hainault, 452 ; is declared king after his father's captivity, 462 ; prepares to resist the Scots, and purchases the services of John of Hainault, *iv.* 7 ; makes peace with Bruce, 8 ; his uncle, the earl of Kent, accused through the intrigues of Isabella and Mortimer, and executed, 12 ; Edward advised by lord Montacute to cast off Mortimer's authority, 15 ; aids in securing Mortimer, 16 ; who is executed, 18 ; Edward concludes two treaties with Edward Baliol, 25 ; defeats the Scots at Halidon Hill, 27 ; claims the crown of France on the death of Charles IV. as grandson of Philip IV. 29 ; does homage to Philip of Valois for Guienne, 31 ; receives Robert of Artois, who excites him to declare war against Philip, 34 ; commences the campaign with the siege of Cambray, 36 ; exhorted to peace by Benedict XII. 38 ; assumes the title of king of France, 39 ; defeats Philip's fleet, 43 ; lays siege to Tournay, 44 ; challenges Philip to single combat, *ibid.* ;

Jane of Hainault, the queen's mother, sues for a pacification, 45; an armistice concluded, 46; on his return to England he accuses his ministers of treachery, *ibid.*; accuses archbishop Stratford of having intercepted his supplies, 47; an information lodged against Stratford in the Exchequer, which leads to a discussion respecting the rights of the peerage, 48; Edward's dissimulation and pretended concessions to his parliament, 50; stops the process against Stratford, 51; supports the pretensions of the earl of Montfort to the duchy of Bretagne, 52; concludes a truce with Philip, 55; war recommenced, and the earl of Derby sent to Guienne, 56; Edward lands in Normandy, 59; advances upon Paris, 60; crosses the Somme, 62; prepares for the battle of Creci, 63; his interview with his son after the victory, 68; the Scots invade England, 71; they are defeated at the battle of Nevil's Cross, and David taken prisoner, 73; progress of the war in Guienne, 74; Calais surrenders to Edward, 76; truce concluded between England and France by the mediation of Clement VI. 80; De Charny, governor of St. Omer, attempts to take Calais by surprise, 82; Edward takes Eustace de Ribeanmont prisoner, 83; defeats the Spaniards at sea, 84; returns to England, 86; the great pestilence, *ibid.*; treaty for the prolongation of the armistice with France, 94; the war renewed under the command of the Black Prince, 95; Edward returns, and invades Scotland, 97; the battle of Poitiers, 102; the Black Prince takes prisoners the king of France and his son Philip, 105; Edward releases the king of Scotland, 110; marches through France on his conditions for John's ransom being rejected, 111; consents to a peace, 117; liberates John, 118; loses his possessions in France, 134; obtains a truce, 140; his ministers lose their popularity, *ibid.*; they are prosecuted, 141; also Alice Perrers, 142; the Black Prince dies, 144; Edward dies the following year, 147; his character, *ibid.*; advantages arising from his wars, 149; grievances redressed by him, 150; administration of justice during his reign, 152; statute of treason, 154; state of the parliament, 156; system of taxation, 173; constitution of the army, 179; of the navy, 191; affairs of the church, 194; bishoprics, 199; inferior benefices, 203; controversy relative to the papal jurisdiction in England, 211; Wycliffe, 213.

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— IV. (see *York, Edward, duke of*), is proclaimed in London, *v.* 225; a decisive victory gained over the Lancas-

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- , Henry Holand, duke of, left for dead at the battle of Barnet, v. 284; his subsequent fate, 286.
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- Falkland, Carey, viscount, succeeds St. John as deputy of Ireland, and publishes a menacing proclamation against catholics, ix. 209; his perplexity to provide for the troops, x. 32; recalled, to make way for Wentworth, 37.
- Falstaff, sir John, defeats the earl of Clermont at Roveray, v. 104; disgraced for cowardice at Patay, 112.
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- Fiennes, Nathaniel, governor of Bristol, yields up that place to prince Rupert, *x.* 216; tried by a court-martial, condemned, but pardoned, *ibid.*, *note.*
- Finch, sir J., lord chief justice, gets the courts to decide in favour of the legality of ship-money, *x.* 29; impeached of high treason and escapes to Holland, 110.
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- Fisher, bishop of Rochester, opposes Henry VIII.'s divorce, *vi.* 274; accused of conniving at Elizabeth Barton's supposed conspiracy, 277; he and sir Thomas More sent to the Tower, 280; his trial and execution, 287.
- Fitz-Arthur, Asceline, interrupts the funeral of William I. at Caen, *ii.* 97.
- Fitz-Harris, an Irish adventurer, his history, *xiii.* 267; he and Everard compose a libel against Charles II. 268; he is betrayed by the latter and sent to the Tower, *ibid.*; impeached by the commons, 270; the impeachment rejected by the lords, 271; he is tried and executed, 278.
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- Rufus, his iniquitous character, ii. 132; imprisoned in the Tower by Henry, 156; escapes to Normandy, 157.
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- , Margaret, countess of, demands from Henry III. 40,000 marks, the arrears for military services, iii. 253; the king retaliates by seizing Flemish manufactures, *ibid.*; her son, Guy, meets Edward I. at Montreuil, where they adjust their differences, 254.
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- Floyd, a catholic barrister, fined and sentenced to imprisonment for uttering disrespectful language against the palatine, ix. 256.
- Forest, pleas of the, ii. 405.
- , Dr., confessor to Catharine of Arragon, burnt, vi. 357, *note.*
- Fortescue, sir John, writes a treatise in proof of the claims of the house of York, which procures his pardon from Edward IV. v. 294; his work on the laws of England, 295, *note.*
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- Frederic, elector palatine, marries Elizabeth, daughter of James I. ix. 138 ; accepts the crown of Bohemia, 241 ; loses his dominions and returns to the Hague, 243 ; Louis XIII. refuses to join with England in restoring the palatine, 367 ; Gustavus Adolphus undertakes to replace Frederic on the throne, but afterwards changes his views, 426 ; Frederic dies at Mentz, 427.
- Friars, orders of, attacked by Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, and Wycliffe, iv. 214.
- Gardiner, Stephen, Wolsey's secretary, sent with Fox to demand the restoration of Ravenna to the pope, vi. 177 ; made secretary to Henry VIII. 217 ; excluded by Henry from the number of his executors, 465 ; opposes the religious innovations in the reign of Edward VI. vii. 25 ; imprisoned, 27 ; preaches before the young king, and afterwards sent to the Tower, 35 ; attempts to intimidate him, 85 ; carried before the council, 86 ; deprived of his see, 87 ; liberated by Mary and made chancellor, 168 ; crowns her, 170 ; favours her proposed marriage with Courteney, 176 ; opposes her marriage with Philip, 179 ; saves Elizabeth and Devonshire when arrested for conspiracy, 228 ; preaches a sermon lamenting his former conduct, 246 ; was not the originator of the persecutions against the reformers, 259 ; his death, 290.
- Garnet, the jesuit, condemns Catesby's designs against James I. ix. 58 ; the plot revealed to him, 65 ; he attempts to prevent it, 66 ; is apprehended, 79 ; his examination, 80 ; confession, 83 ; trial, *ibid.* ; and execution, 87.
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- Gavelkind, a kind of Irish tenure, explanation of, ii. 352.
- Gaveston, Piers de, favourite of Edward II. account of, iii. 380 ; recalled by Edward after his father's death, and made earl of Cornwall, 382 ; the barons petition for his banishment, 384 ; he quits England, and proceeds to Ireland, of which he is appointed governor, 385 ; returns, 387 ; his insolence and extravagance, 388 ; again obliged to abscond, 389 ; the army committed to him, 390 ; shuts himself up in Bamborough, 391 ;

- departs for France, 395; returns and is taken prisoner, *ibid.*; is beheaded, 396.
- Gell, sir J., condemned to perpetual imprisonment for conspiring against the commonwealth government, xi. 108.
- Geoffry of Monmouth publishes his history of Britain in the reign of Henry I. ii. 222.
- , earl of Anjou (*Plantagenet*), marries Matilda, daughter of Henry I. ii. 188; declines assisting her against Stephen, 257; bestows Normandy on his son (afterwards Henry II.), 261; bequeaths Anjou to his second son, 275.
- , natural son of Henry II. by Rosamond, made bishop of Lincoln, ii. 435; chosen to the see of York, but forbidden by Richard I. to reside in England, 478; arrested and released, 479.
- Gerefa, or reeve, office of, i. 477, 519.
- Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, leads the Britons against the Picts and Scots, and defeats them, i. 93.
- Gesith, an officer among the Saxons, rank of, i. 474.
- Ghent, taken by Louis XIV. xiii. 43.
- Githa, Harold's mother, escapes to Flanders, ii. 28.
- Glanville, Ranulf de, chief justiciary in the reign of Henry II. ii. 410.
- Glamorgan, earl of, see *Herbert*.
- Glastonbury, abbey of, founded by Ina, king of Wessex, i. 197.
- Glencairn, earl of, he and other Scotch royalists take up arms in favour of Charles II. during the protectorate, xi. 214; they severally submit to Monk after Morgan's defeat, 215; Glencairn is made chancellor of Scotland by Charles at the restoration, xii. 50.
- Glendour, Owen, his history, iv. 408; rebels against Henry IV. *ibid.*; his successes, 409; forms an alliance with France, 410; his son Griffith defeated by the prince of Wales, *ibid.*; he is gradually subdued and retires to the mountains, 411.
- Glocester, Robert, earl of, natural son of Henry I. by his mistress Nesta, swears fealty to Stephen, ii. 228; takes him prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, 246; brings over his nephew (Henry II.) from Normandy, 257; account of his mother, 263, *note*.
- , Gilbert Clare, earl of, joins the party of the earl of Leicester against Henry III. iii. 175; one of those named by Henry to appoint a council, 188; his defection from Leicester, 195; aids prince Edward to escape, 196; chosen their leader by the factious citizens of London, but submits to the king on condition of pardon, 204.
- , Thomas, duke of, youngest son of Edward III. iv. 274; plots against his nephew, Richard II. 279; marches with an army against London, 289; complains of being suspected of aspiring to the crown, 294; refuses to pardon sir Simon Burley, 299; retires from the administration, 304.
- , Humphrey, duke of, brother to Henry V. appointed guardian of the kingdom, v. 66; claims the regency, 79; allowed only the title of president of the council, 80; marries

- Jacqueline of Bavaria, 90; quarrels with the duke of Brabant, her former husband, for the possession of her dominions, *ibid.*; formally accused of incontinence with Eleanor Cobham, 93; acknowledges her as his wife, 94; quarrels with his uncle Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, 96; arrested on a charge of high treason, 161; dies, *ibid.*
- Glocester, Richard, duke of, brother of Edward IV. quarrels with his brother Clarence, and marries the widow of Edward, son of Henry VI. v. 296; assists the duke of Albany against Berwick, 313; his conduct on the king's death, 323; arrests the lords Gray and Rivers, 325; conducts his nephew, Edward V. back to Northampton, 326; afterwards to London, 327; is made protector, *ibid.*; arrests Hastings, Stanley, &c., 329; Hastings is put to death, *ibid.*; causes the executions of Rivers, Gray, &c., 330; takes her second son from the queen, and sends him to the Tower, 331; Buckingham's exertions in his favour, 336; Glocester accepts the crown, 339. See *Richard III.*
- , Henry, duke of, son of Charles I. sent to his sister, the princess of Orange, xi. 167, *note*; his death, xii. 78.
- Godfrey, sir Edmondbury, Titus Oates makes affidavit before him of the truth of his narrative, xiii. 69; his friend Coleman implicated in the pretended conspiracy, *ibid.*; his mysterious death, 80; his body exposed to the public, 82; his funeral, 88; Bedloe's depositions as to the circumstances of his death, 97.
- Godmundham, pagan temple at, destroyed by Coiffi, the high-priest, i. 124.
- Godric, abbot of Croyland, sums extorted from, by Sweyn, i. 354; by Ethelred, 355.
- Godwin, earl of Wessex, suspected of the murder of Alfred, brother to Edward the Confessor, i. 395; his daughter Editha marries Edward, 404; history of his son Sweyn, 405; rebels with his two sons, 408; banished, 409; returns with an armament, 411; restored to his earldom, 413; his death and character, 415; his son Harold, see *Harold II.*
- Gordon, lady Catherine, daughter of the earl of Huntley, married to Perkin Warbeck, v. 426; taken prisoner by Henry VII. and made attendant to the queen, 433; afterwards married to sir Matthew Cradock, *ibid.*, *note*.
- Goring, colonel, governor of Portsmouth, refuses to accept a commission from parliament, and is besieged by their forces, x. 186; a letter from him to the queen discovered, 237; he is defeated by Fairfax at Lamport, 310; advances against London, 413; removes to Colchester, 414; surrenders after the defeat of the Scots, 420; brought to trial, xi. 9.
- Gothrun, Danish leader, invades Wessex, i. 239; his treachery towards Alfred, 240; his fleet destroyed, 242; takes Chippenham, 244; capitulates to Alfred, 250; is baptized by the name of Athelstan, *ibid.*; retires to East Anglia, 251.
- Gowrie, earl of, invites James VI. to his castle at Ruthven, and secures his person, viii. 198; arrested and executed as a traitor, 212.

- Grafton, duke of, son of Charles II. and Castlemain, married by the king to Arlington's daughter, xii. 233.
- Graham, of Claverhouse, repelled in his attempt to suppress the insurrection of the covenanters, xiii. 167.
- Gray, John de, bishop of Norwich, appointed to the see of Canterbury by John, iii. 29; removed by Innocent III. in favour of Stephen Langton, 26; made lord deputy in Ireland, 27, *note*.
- , sir Ralph, besieged by the earl of Warwick in Bamborough castle, v. 243; executed, 244.
- , lady Elizabeth, daughter of the duchess of Bedford and lord Rivers, privately married to Edward IV. v. 248; she is acknowledged as queen and crowned, 250; marriages of her brothers and sisters, 251; her father created earl Rivers, 252; her father and brother taken at the battle of Edgecote and executed, 262; retires with her family to a sanctuary at Westminster to screen herself from Gloucester, 326; Gloucester's proclamation against her, 330; she surrenders her second son to him, 332; prevailed upon by Richard to quit the sanctuary, 354; her daughter married to Henry VII. 378; she herself is confined by him, 389; a marriage proposed between her and James III. of Scots, 390.
- , lady Jane (grand-daughter of Mary, duchess of Suffolk, sister to Henry VIII.), marries lord Guildford Dudley, vii. 134; her pedigree, 136, *note*; the succession to the throne altered in her favour by Edward VI. at the instigation of her father-in-law, Northumberland, 137; her character, 152; her accession to the crown announced to her, 153; is proclaimed queen, 155; bishop Ridley preaches in her favour and against Mary, 160; the nobles, &c. begin to desert her cause and join Mary, 161; Mary proclaimed, 163; Northumberland arrested, 165; Jane not included by Mary in the list of state prisoners for trial, 172; her father, the duke of Suffolk, imprisoned in the Tower, 210 (see *Suffolk*); her and Dudley's execution ordered after Wyatt's rebellion, 223; executed, *ibid*.
- , lady Catherine (sister to the preceding), divorced from the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, and privately married to the earl of Hertford, vii. 509; imprisoned by Elizabeth, and kept in the Tower till her death, *ibid*.
- , lord, enters into a plot termed the 'Bye,' in the reign of James I. ix. 16; his eloquence at his trial, 21; he and his associates, Cobham and Markham, are pardoned, after being brought out for execution, 24.
- Greek fire, ii. 460, *note*.
- Gregorivitch, Osep Napea, arrives from Russia on an embassy to Mary, vii. 336.
- Gregory VII. ii. 104; William I. refuses homage to him, 105.
- Grenville, sir J., brings a message from Charles to Monk, xi. 410; Monk's interview with him, 432; he delivers Charles's letter to the parliament, 439; receives a vote of thanks and a present of money, 440.

- Grey, lord, Monmouth's associate, made prisoner at the battle of Sedgemoor, xiv. 59; pardoned by James after making a confession of the Rye-house plot, &c. 89; had seduced his sister-in-law, lady Henrietta Berkeley, *ibid.*, *note*.
- Grindal, archbishop, succeeds Parker in the see of Canterbury, viii. 161; loses Elizabeth's favour, and is ordered to resign, 162.
- Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, account of, iii. 240; his obedience to the spiritual, but firm resistance to the undue exercise of the temporal, power of Rome, 243.
- Guader, Ralph de, earl of Norfolk, conspires against William the Conqueror, ii. 85.
- Gualo, the legate of Honorius III. excites the English against Louis VII. in his pretensions to the crown on the death of John, iii. 98; appointed guardian of Henry III. 105; returns to Rome, and is succeeded by Pandulf, 107.
- Guesclin, Du, employed against Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, iv. 125; taken prisoner at the battle of Navarette, 129.
- Guise, duke of, uncle to Mary queen of Scots, recalled from Italy by Henry II. after the defeat of the French at St. Quintin, vii. 321; takes Calais from the English, 322; lays siege to Guisnes, 323; the government entrusted to him and the cardinal of Lorraine, by Francis II. 391; plot of the huguenots to murder him, the king, &c. 392; becomes one of the leaders of the catholics against the huguenots, 416; his followers kill a number of persons in an affray at Vassy, 417, *note*; defeats the insurgents in the battle of Dreux, 422; is assassinated by Poltrot, a huguenot deserter, 430.
- Guitmond, a Norman monk, refuses an English bishopric, ii. 44.
- Gunpowder-plot, first imagined by Catesby, ix. 43; the conspirators work at the mine, 49; they hire a cellar under the parliament house, 52; new associates added to their number, 56; their designs suspected, 58; the execution of the plot delayed by the proroguing of parliament, 59; plan of operations, 62; the plot revealed to the jesuit Garnet, 65; intimation of danger communicated to lord Mounteagle, 68; doubts of the conspirators, 71; they resolve to persevere, 72; Fawkes detected in the cellar and arrested, 73; the other conspirators flee, 75; Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights are slain, the others taken, 76; their examination, 77; trials, 78; and execution, 79; Garnet apprehended, *ibid.*; executed, 88. See *Catesby*, *Digby*, *Fawkes*, *Percy*, *Tresham*, and *Winter*.
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- Gwin, Nell, mother of the first duka of St. Alban's, by Charles II. xii. 197.
- Habeas Corpus Act passed, xiii. 156; chiefly in consequence of Shaftesbury's exertions, *ibid.*
- Hacket, a fanatic, believes himself John the Baptist, viii. 364; he

- and two other enthusiasts, Arthington and Coppinger, sentenced as traitors, 365.
- Haco of Norway, sent by his father, Harold Harfagre, to Athelstan, i. 192.
- Hadrian, emperor, visits Britain, i. 53; builds a military wall, *ibid.*
- Hæretico comburendo, statute de, made in the reign of Henry IV. iv. 444; additional statute, 448; abolished in the reign of Charles II. xiii. 18, *note.*
- Hales, serjeant, removed from the commons by Hyde, by being made chief baron of the exchequer, xii. 27.
- Halidon Hill, battle of, Edward III. defeats the Scots, iv. 27.
- Halifax, earl of, opposes the exclusion bill, xiii. 224; address by the commons, for his removal from the council, *ibid.*; proposes a bill of limitations, 253; publishes a tract concerning the succession, 261; dissuades the king from recalling the duke of York, 312; effects a reconciliation between the king and Monmouth, 348; his intrigues against the duke of York, 364; advises the king to give the American colonies local legislatures, 373; retained in office by James II. xiv. 7; opposes the establishment of a standing army, and the abolition of the test act, 81; removed from the council, *ibid.*; he with Godolphin and others advises James to remain, 259; commissioned to order him to quit Whitehall, 281.
- Hamilton, marquess of, sent by Charles I. to Scotland, as commissioner, to suppress the covenant, x. 63; dares not land, 73; advises the king to admit the reformers to his councils, 115; becomes suspected of treason and flees, 146; is liberated, restored to the king's favour, and becomes a leader of the royalists, 408; defeated by the parliamentary troops, and yields himself prisoner to Lambert, 418; fined 100,000*l.* xi. 8; executed, 10.
- Hammond, colonel, governor of the Isle of Wight, Charles I. committed to his custody, x. 396; refuses to give him up to Ewre, 429.
- Hampden, John, resists the assessment of ship-money, x. 32; during the civil wars proposes to besiege Charles in Oxford, 209; slain in an action at Chalgrove, 213.
- , Mr., implicated in the Rye-house-plot, xiii. 326; tried and fined, 356.
- Hanging in chains, first practised in the reign of Richard II. iv. 248, *note.*
- Harclay, sir Andrew, governor of Carlisle in the reign of Edward II. takes the earl of Lancaster prisoner, iii. 438; made earl of Carlisle, 443; executed for treasonable negotiations with the Scots, *ibid.*
- Harcourt, count of, ambassador from France to the parliament, in the reign of Charles I. x. 236.
- Hardecamute, succeeds Harold Harefoot, i. 393; orders the body of the latter to be decapitated, 395; his generosity and magnificence, 397; dies very suddenly, 398.

- Harfleur, siege of, v. 129 ; surrenders to the English, 130.
- Harold Harefoot, succeeds Canute, to the exclusion of his half-brother Hardecnute, i. 387 ; puts Alfred, Ethelred's youngest son, to death, 389.
- II. brother-in-law to Edward the Confessor, banished, i. 409 ; recovers his earldom, 413 ; his conquests in Wales, 421 ; suspected of a design against Edward, the king's nephew, 424 ; his pretensions to the throne, *ibid.* ; made prisoner in Normandy, 425 ; compelled to swear fealty to William, 426 ; succeeds Edward, 434 ; the crown claimed by William of Normandy, 435 ; his brother Tostig invades England, 436 ; battle of Stamford-bridge, 438 ; Tostig and the king of Norway slain, 439 ; his generosity towards Olave, the king's son, 440 ; William lands, 441 ; battle of Hastings, 447 ; death of Harold and his brothers, 450, 451 ; his sons invade England, ii. 31.
- Hardrada, king of Norway, assists Tostig against his brother Harold II. i. 436 ; lands in England, 437 ; slain at the battle of Stamford-bridge, 439.
- Harrison, colonel, sent to remove Charles I. from Hurst castle, x. 443.
- , major-general, becomes leader of the anabaptists, xi. 192.
- Hastings, Danish pirate, lands in England, i. 263 ; his family made prisoners, 266 ; he retires to France, and obtains Chartres, *ibid.*
- , lord, favourite of Edward IV. v. 321 ; arrested and executed by Gloucester, 329.
- Hatton, sir Christopher, made chancellor by Elizabeth, viii. 320.
- Havre, surrendered to the French by the earl of Warwick, vii. 432.
- Hawkins, sir John, opens a trade in slaves, in the reign of Elizabeth, viii. 306 ; makes an expedition to the West Indies, with Drake, which fails, and they both die, 391.
- Haxey, sir Thomas, a clergyman, condemned for bringing forward a bill for the regulation of the household of Richard II. iv. 224, *note*.
- Hayward, dedicates his history of Richard III. to Essex, for which Elizabeth is desirous of imprisoning him, viii. 439, *note*.
- Hazelrig, one of the leaders of the opposition, refuses to obey Cromwell's summons to the upper house, xi. 329 ; denounces Lambert for an attempt to subvert the parliament, 402 ; is one of those excepted from the bill of indemnity, xii. 13.
- Heiresses, marriages of, ii. 74.
- Henderson, a presbyterian minister, employed by the Scots to convert Charles I. x. 342.
- Hengham, sir Ralph de, grand justiciary, in the reign of Edward I. fined, iii. 363.
- Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of Henry IV. of France, lord Kensington sent to negotiate a marriage between her and Charles, ix. 315 ; the treaty concluded, 317 ; married to Charles immediately on his accession, 326 ; her terrors excited by the

disturbed state of the kingdom, x. 138; is anxious to return with her mother to France, 140; sent by the king to Holland for her safety, 172; sends him supplies of arms, 208; is impeached of high treason by Pym, 210; delivered of a daughter at Exeter, 255; comes to England to prevent the duke of York's marriage with Clarendon's daughter, xii. 79; desists from her opposition, by Mazariu's advice, and receives the duchess, 81; dies at Colombe, near Paris, 225; had been privately married to Jermyn, earl of St. Alban's, 226.

Henry I. youngest son of the Conqueror, the portion assigned him by his father, ii. 95; purchases part of the duchy of Normandy of his brother Robert, 114; assists Robert in retaining Rouen, 115; besieged by his brothers at Mount St. Michel, 117; recovers part of his possessions, *ibid.*; hastens to Winchester on the death of Rufus, 151; is crowned, *ibid.*; his charter of liberties, 152; reforms his conduct, 154; marries Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. 155; imprisons Flambard, bishop of Durham, 156; Robert claims the crown, 157; treaty between them, 159; Henry punishes the disaffected barons, 160; invades Normandy, 163; ecclesiastical affairs, 165; hostilities in Normandy terminated, by mediation of the pope, 173; account of Juliana, Henry's daughter, 175; his son William shipwrecked, 177; war renewed in Normandy, 181; death of queen Matilda, 184; Henry marries Adela's of Louvain, 185; settles the crown on his daughter Matilda, 186; quarrels with her husband, Geoffry of Anjou, 189; his administration of justice, 190; restrains the followers of the court from pillaging, 193; relieves his tenants, 195; his oppressive mode of raising money, 196; applies vacant benefices to his own use, 198; his disputes with the pope relative to the admission of legates, 201; promises obedience to Innocent II. 205; his death, 206; character, 207; policy, 208; suspicious, revengeful, &c., 210; his ministers, 213; his prejudice against the English, 215; riches, *ibid.*; buildings erected by him, 216.

— II. (Plantagenet), eldest son of the empress Matilda, brought to England by his uncle Robert, earl of Gloucester, ii. 257; his history, 261; adopted by Stephen, 262; is crowned, 270; his administration, 271; applies to Adrian IV. to absolve him from his oath to comply with his father's will, 275; his character, 276; rewards archbishop Theobald, 280; at his suggestion takes Thomas Becket as his minister, *ibid.*; makes him chancellor, 281; claims Toulouse, in right of his queen, 285; takes Cahors, 286; retires into Normandy, *ibid.*; makes peace with Louis VII. 287; raises Becket to the see of Canterbury, 290; becomes jealous of him, 293; attacks the privileges of the clergy, 303; reconciled with Becket, 307; compels him and the bishops to subscribe to the constitutions of Clarendon, 308; endeavours to effect his ruin. 314; recalled from Normandy by a rising in Wales, 321; obliged to retire to Chester, 323; puts the Welsh hostages to death, 324; obtains Bretagne from Conan, earl of Richmond, by marrying his son Geoffry to

the earl's daughter, 325 ; offers to join the opponents of Alexander III. 329 ; appeals to him against the constitutions of Clarendon, 330 ; concludes peace with Louis VII. 332 ; causes his eldest son, Henry, to be crowned, 333 ; becomes reconciled with Becket, 334 ; his perplexity on the archbishop's assassination, 344 ; his expedition to Ireland, 346 ; first project of his invasion, 360 ; permits Strongbow to proceed thither, 365 ; the earl surrenders to him the city of Dublin, 367 ; Henry lands at Waterford, *ibid.* ; his sovereignty acknowledged by the synod of Cashel, 368 ; he returns to England, 369 ; entrusts the command to Hugh de Lacy, 370 ; his treaty with Roderic, king of Connaught, 372 ; makes his son John governor of Ireland, 374 ; becomes reconciled with the pope, 377 ; concessions in favour of the clergy, 379 ; account of his sons, 381 ; they retire from court with their mother, 382 ; the queen taken and imprisoned, 383 ; rebellion of his sons aided by Louis VII. 384 ; Henry's successes against the confederates, 386 ; returns in consequence of the invasion of the Scots, and rebellions at home, 388 ; makes a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, 389 ; informed of the capture of the king of Scots, 391 ; proceeds to the relief of Rouen, 394 ; pardons his sons, who swear fealty to him, 395 ; submission of the king of Scots, 396 ; Henry returns to England with his son Henry, 398 ; chosen umpire between the kings of Castille and Navarre, 419 ; punishes a sect of fanatics called Cathari, 420 ; aids the christians in Asia, 422 ; prepares an expedition for the recovery of Jerusalem, 424 ; second rebellion of his sons, 425 ; plots against his life, 427 ; death of his son Henry, *ibid.* ; of Geoffry, 428 ; the king takes Adalais, daughter of Louis, and betrothed to his son Richard, 429 ; consents to a peace with Louis, 431 ; dies, 432 ; account of his children, 433 ; his will, 436.

Henry III. eldest son of John, crowned at Gloucester, *iii.* 95 ; declared of age, 109 ; his disputes with Scotland, 118 ; with Wales, 122 ; the sons of Griffith become his vassals, 125 ; loss of Poitou, *ibid.* ; expedition to Guienne, 128 ; defeated by Louis at Taillebourg, 131 ; his transactions with the popes, 135 ; his policy towards the Roman see, 137 ; papal concessions, 145 ; endeavours to place his second son, Edmund, on the throne of Sicily, which is offered him by Innocent IV. 148 ; his disputes with the barons, 151 ; takes Peter des Roches into favour, instead of Hubert de Burgh, afterwards obliged to remove him, 154 ; marries Eleanor of Provence, and takes her uncle, William de Valence, into favour, 155 ; favours his wife's relations, and his mother Isabella's children, 156 ; opposition of the barons, 157 ; Henry quarrels with the earl of Leicester, 159 ; takes Guienne from his brother Richard, and bestows it on his own son Edward, *ibid.*, *note* ; the barons conspire, and assemble in parliament in armour, 161 ; obliged to submit to conditions from them, 162 ; acts of the committee of reform, 164 ; articles of reform, 167 ; quarrels among the barons, 170 ; Henry resumes the government, 171 ; applies to Alexander IV.

to release him from his oath to comply with the provisions of Oxford, 173; rebellion of the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, 176; the queen insulted while attempting to join her son at Windsor, *ibid.*; Henry endeavours to take the earl of Leicester, 178; the dispute between the king and Leicester submitted to the award of Louis IX. who decides in favour of the former, 179; the decision rejected by Leicester, and riots in consequence at London, 180; Henry, aided by the borderers, attacks many of the barons' fortresses, 182; takes Leicester's son prisoner, *ibid.*; defeated at Lewes by Leicester, and surrenders himself prisoner to him, 185; his son Edward and his nephew Henry retained as hostages, 186; he himself kept in custody by Leicester, who exercises the royal authority, 187; the queen raises an army in Flanders to oppose Leicester, but it is gradually disbanded, 189; Leicester's stipulations preparatory to prince Edward's release, 192; his popularity, 194; he subdues the borderers, *ibid.*; is driven into Wales, 198; prince Edward, after defeating Leicester's son, defeats and kills the earl himself at the battle of Evesham, 200; Henry recovers his regal power, 201; congratulated by Clement IV. 207; dies at Westminster, 213; his character, 214; his children, 245.

Henry IV. (See *Lancaster, Henry, duke of*), is crowned, *iv.* 373; proceedings of the new parliament, 374; the lords appellants degraded, 375; adjudges Richard to perpetual imprisonment, 377; insurrection of the lords appellants, 379; Richard's death, 381; the king's expedition against the Scots, 384; victory gained by the English at Homildon-hill, 387; rebellion of the Percies, 389; Hotspur and Douglas defeated at the battle of Shrewsbury, 394; submission and pardon of Northumberland, 396; one Ward personates Richard II. in Scotland, 399; insurrection in Yorkshire, 400; archbishop Scroop executed for joining in the rebellion, 403; Northumberland flees, 404; Owen Glendour's rebellion, 408; he is subdued, 411; transactions with France, 412; Henry defied by St. Pol, 414; challenged by the duke of Orleans, 416; captures prince James of Scotland, 419; enters into a treaty with the Armagnacs, 421; the succession settled, 423; the king's ill health, 428; his death, 429.

— V. his character when prince of Wales, *iv.* 425; he succeeds his father, *v.* 1; insurrection of the Lollards, 3; Henry claims the crown of France, 8; his demands, 9; recalls his ambassadors, 10; prepares for war, 11; dismisses the French envoys, 12; the conspiracy of the earl of Cambridge, sir Thomas Grey, &c. discovered, 14; they are executed, 16; Henry lands in Normandy and reduces Harfleur, 17; advances to Maisoncelles, 21; the battle of Azincourt, 25; he returns to England, 32; is visited by the emperor Sigismund, 33; the duke of Bedford defeats the French fleet, 36; Henry and the emperor confer with the duke of Burgundy at Calais, 37; the king returns, 38; lands in Normandy, 40; in his absence the

duke of Albany and earl Douglas cross the borders, 42; he reduces Lower Normandy, 44; besieges Rouen, 48; which surrenders to him, 51; conferences at Meulan, 52; after the negotiations are frustrated, Henry takes Pontoise, 54; an armistice concluded after the murder of the duke of Burgundy, 57; Henry is made regent of France, 58; marries Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. 59; duke of Clarence defeated at Beaujé, 61; Henry returns to France, 62; and reduces Meaux, 64; his queen joins him at Bois de Vincennes, 65; his illness, *ibid.*; death, 66; character, 67; funeral, 69; his widow marries Owen Tudor, 139.

Henry VI. succeeds his father at the age of nine months, v. 78; crowned in his eighth year, at Westminster, 121; afterwards at Paris, *ibid.*; returns to England, 122; death of his uncle, the duke of Bedford, 126; famine, 129; Harfleur taken by the English, 130; Pontoise lost, 131; negotiations with France, *ibid.*; the instructions to the English envoys, 132, *note*; armistice, 134; truce with James II. of Scotland, 138; Henry's education, 139; he demands to be admitted to a share in the government, 141; marries Margaret of Anjou, 159; arrest and death of his uncle, Gloucester, *ibid.*; cedes Anjou and Maine, 165; loses Rouen, 167; and Normandy and Guienne, 169; public discontent, 171; duke of Suffolk impeached and banished, 175; Cade's rebellion, 182; the duke of York returns from Ireland, 186; proposed as heir-apparent, 188; his rebellious conduct, 189; ineffectual attempt made to recover Guienne, 192; birth of prince Edward, 194; the king's mental incapacity and York's ascendancy, 195; York made protector, 197; Henry recovers, 198; taken captive by York at the battle of St. Alban's, 200; relapses, and York is again made protector, 202; recovers again, 203; calls a council at Coventry, where York swears fealty to him, 204; reconciliation effected between the Lancastrians and Yorkists, 205; fresh dissensions, 206; Lancastrians defeated by the earl of Salisbury at Bloreheath, 209; Henry disperses the Yorkists, 210; they are attainted, 211; York's appeal to the nation, 212; Warwick lands in Kent and collects an army, 213; Henry made prisoner, 214; York lays claim to the crown, 215; a compromise made that he be acknowledged heir-apparent, 220; the Lancastrians raise an army and defeat the Yorkists at Wakefield, where the duke is slain, 221; the Lancastrians defeated at Mortimer's Cross, 222; the queen defeats the earl of Warwick at St. Alban's, by which Henry is liberated, 223; Edward duke of York proclaimed king, 225; the crown secured to Edward by the victory of Towton, and Henry escapes to the borders, 234; the queen obtains succours from France, 238; Henry finds an asylum in Merionethshire, 241; joins the Lancastrian party in another effort, 242; taken prisoner and conducted to the Tower, 245; his son marries Warwick's daughter, Anne, 273; he is liberated and restored to his crown by Warwick, 277; Clarence joins Edward on his return to England, 282; Henry's partisans de-

feated at the battle of Barnet, and Warwick slain, 284; Henry sent back to the Tower, 285; Margaret lands in England, *ibid.*; the Lancastrians defeated at Tewkesbury, and the queen made prisoner, and her son slain, 287; Henry is put to death, 288.

Henry VII. (See *Richmond, Henry, duke of*), his title to the crown considered, v. 368; confines the young earl of Warwick in the Tower, 370; enters London after his victory at Bosworth, 371; is crowned, 372; settlement of his crown, 374; he marries the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. 378; dispensation for the marriage obtained from Innocent VIII. 379; lord Lovell's insurrection, 381; Henry makes a progress through the kingdom, 382; truce for three years with Scotland, 384; birth of prince Arthur, 385; an impostor personates the earl of Warwick in Ireland, 386; and is proclaimed Edward VI. 388; Henry removes the real Warwick from the Tower, 389; imprisons the queen dowager, *ibid.*; the pretended Warwick is joined by the earl of Lincoln, 390; the insurgents defeated and Lincoln slain at the battle of Stoke, 393; the queen crowned, 395; peace with Scotland prolonged, and it is proposed that James III. should marry the queen dowager, 400; Henry acts as mediator between Charles VIII. and the duke of Bretagne, 402; sends assistance to Anne of Bretagne, 405; the English obtain a victory over the Flemings at Dixmude, 406; insurrection in Northumberland, 407; prepares for war against Charles VIII. 411; lands in France, 412; concludes a peace, 413; Perkin Warbeck personates the duke of York, second son of Edward IV. 415; Henry endeavours to seize his person, 417; his partisans executed, 419; Henry sends sir Edward Poynings to Ireland, as deputy, 421; James IV. of Scots and Warbeck invade England, 426; insurrection in Cornwall, 428; Henry makes peace with Scotland, 430; advances against Warbeck, who lands from Ireland, 432; takes his wife prisoner, *ibid.*; Warbeck submits, *ibid.*; is obliged to read his confession publicly, 434; a second pretended earl of Warwick, 435; Warbeck and Warwick executed, 437; treaties with France, 439; with Scotland, 440; James IV. marries Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, 442; prince Arthur marries Catherine of Arragon, 444; the prince dies, 446; prince Henry contracted to his brother's widow, 448; death of the queen, 449; Henry conceives the design of marrying the queen dowager of Naples, *ibid.*; afterwards Margaret, duchess of Savoy, 450; Philip of Castile, and his queen obliged to land at Falmouth, *ibid.*; conditions extorted from him by Henry, 451; he compels him to give up the earl of Suffolk, *ibid.*; forms a project of marrying Philip's widow, Juana, 454; but is obliged to abandon it, 455; his oppressive methods of raising money, 456; his sickness and death, 459; his character, 460; charities, 463.

—— VIII. contracted to Catherine, his brother Arthur's widow, while yet prince, v. 447; his accession, vi. 2; marriage and

coronation, 3 ; orders the arrest of Empson and Dudley, 4 ; his passion for amusements, 6 ; aids Julius II. against France, 13 ; claims from Louis XII. the restoration of the English territories in France, and sends an expedition to Guienne, 14 ; besieges Terouanne, 23 ; defeats the French at the battle of Spurs, 24 ; remonstrances made to him by James IV. of Scots, which lead to a rupture, 26 ; James invades England, 29 ; the Scots defeated, and James killed at the battle of Flodden, 35 ; Tournay surrenders to Henry, 37 ; his sister, Mary, marries Louis XII. 41 ; Maximilian offers him the duchy of Milan, and to adopt him as his successor, 53 ; Henry enters into a league with France against the Turks, 56 ; becomes a candidate for the imperial crown, 65 ; is visited by the new emperor, Charles V. at Canterbury, 68 ; his interview with Francis between Ardres and Guisnes, 69 ; visits the emperor at Wael, 72 ; accusation and execution of the duke of Buckingham, 73 ; league between Henry, the emperor, and the pope against Francis, 82 ; the latter lays an embargo on English shipping, 84 ; Charles pays a second visit to England, and is contracted to the princess Mary, 85 ; Henry sends an army into France under the earl of Surrey, 87 ; Francis in retaliation excites dissensions in Ireland, 88 ; and Scotland, 89 ; Wolsey's embarrassments in raising money, 90 ; an invasion of the Scots repelled by the earl of Surrey, 93 ; the duke of Suffolk invades France, but he and the imperial general soon after disband their forces, 96 ; origin of the dissension between Henry and Charles, 103 ; the news of the battle of Pavia received with exultation in England, and it is proposed that Henry and the emperor shall invade France, 108 ; Henry defeated in his attempts to raise money, 110 ; quarrels with Charles, 111 ; makes peace with France, 113 ; urges Francis to violate his treaty with Charles, 120 ; origin of the reformation, 121 ; he attacks Luther's doctrines, 141 ; is declared defender of the faith, 143 ; answers Luther's apology, 145 ; his children by Catherine of Arragon, 150 ; his mistresses, 151 ; Mary Boleyn, 152 ; commencement of his attachment to Anne Boleyn, 153 ; forms the design of obtaining a divorce, 156 ; consults divines on the subject, 163 ; resolves to marry Anne Boleyn, 167 ; unpopularity of the divorce, 169 ; he applies to Clement VII. to grant it, 170 ; defies Charles, 174 ; project for obtaining a papal bull for the divorce, 177 ; Clement demurs to granting it, 178 ; commission to examine the validity of the dispensation, 179 ; cardinal Campeggio appointed legate, 185 ; the sweating sickness, 186 ; Henry's devotion during the calamity, 187 ; Campeggio arrives in England, 188 ; exhorts Catherine to retire to a convent, 190 ; Henry's speech in justification of his conduct, 192 ; questions touching the divorce proposed to canonists, 195 ; Anne Boleyn rules at court, 197 ; the suit for the divorce heard by the legates, 200 ; the court adjourned, 203 ; decline of Wolsey's influence, 206 ; his disgrace, 208 ; favours shown to him by Henry after his arrest, 211 ; his

death, 216 ; the new cabinet, 217 ; sir Thomas More made chancellor, 218 ; attack on the immunities of the clergy, 219 ; the earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, sent to Clement to expedite the divorce, 221 ; opinions of the universities as to its legality, 224 ; letter to the pope to extort his consent, 228 ; his reply, 229 ; Henry begins to waver, 230 ; Cromwell's rise, 231 ; he confirms the king in his resolution, 233 ; Henry acknowledged as head of the church, 236 ; annates or first-fruits abolished, 243 ; the clergy forbidden to make constitutions, 244 ; Henry has an interview with Francis, 247 ; he marries Anne Boleyn, 250 ; Catherine's divorce pronounced by Cranmer, 253 ; birth of the princess Elizabeth, 259 ; Clement declares the divorce unjust, 266 ; the church of England separates from that of Rome, *ibid.* ; statutes relative to ecclesiastical affairs, 267 ; and to the succession, 270 ; opposition to the king's assumption of supremacy in the church, 283 ; prosecutions, 286 ; execution of bishop Fisher, 288 ; and sir T. More, 292 ; papal bull against Henry, 293 ; nature of the supremacy, 296 ; Cromwell made vicar-general, 298 ; commission issued to the bishops, 300 ; dissolution of the lesser monasteries, 301 ; death of Catherine, 307 ; Anne Boleyn imprisoned, 311 ; her trial, 315 ; execution, 323 ; Henry reconciled to his daughter, Mary, 326 ; death of the duke of Richmond, Henry's natural son, 328 ; insurrection in the north, *ibid.* ; demands of the insurgents, 333 ; their leaders executed, 334 ; cardinal Pole appointed to negotiate with Henry, and to reconcile him to Rome, 336 ; a reward offered for his apprehension by Henry, 337 ; dissolution of the greater monasteries, 338 ; monastic property vested in the king, 343 ; consequences of this measure, 344 ; six new bishoprics established, 347 ; Henry makes advances to the German reformers, which they reject, 350 ; compiles a book of "Articles," 354 ; envoys arrive from the Lutheran princes, but return without effecting anything, 356 ; Henry condemns Lambert to death for heresy, 369 ; bull issued against him by the pope, 372 ; arrests cardinal Pole's brothers, who are executed, 373 ; Pole endeavours to excite the emperor and king of France against Henry, 375 ; who orders the countess of Salisbury, Pole's mother, to be arrested, and two years afterwards to be executed, 377 ; recalls bishop Gardiner, 380 ; obtains the enactment of the statute of the six articles, 382 ; Cranmer's alarm at it, 384 ; endeavours to persuade the king to withdraw the article against celibacy of the clergy, 385 ; Henry solicits the hand of the duchess dowager of Longueville, 390 ; Anne of Cleves proposed to him by Cromwell as a wife, 391 ; his disappointment at her person, 392 ; marries her, *ibid.* ; Cromwell's disgrace and arrest, 395 ; he is attainted, 396 ; Henry's contrivance for procuring a divorce, 399 ; the marriage pronounced void by a committee of prelates and divines, 401 ; Cromwell's execution, 404 ; executions of both catholics and protestants, 405 ; Henry marries Catherine Howard, 406 ; she is accused of incontinency, 407 ; condemned, 409 ; and executed, 410 ; the

reading the scriptures restrained, 411; publication of a new doctrinal work, the "Erudition of a Christian Man," 412; Wales incorporated with England, 417; affairs in Ireland, 418; Kildare's rebellion, 419; he submits, 420; is imprisoned with his five uncles in the Tower, and they are all beheaded, *ibid.*; Ireland raised into a kingdom, 423; war with Scotland, 432; sir T. Wharton defeats the Scots, 433; a marriage proposed between Henry's son, Edward, and the infant princess of Scotland, Mary Stuart, *ibid.*; it is broken off, 437; the earl of Hertford sent to invade Scotland, 439; progress of the war, 440; Henry's dissension with Francis, 441; he concludes a treaty with the emperor, *ibid.*; restores his daughter, Mary, to the succession, 442; he and Charles invade France, 444; lays siege to Boulogne, 445; Charles and Francis conclude peace by the treaty of Crespi, and Henry returns to England, 446; the French fleet insults the English coast, 447; peace concluded with Francis, 449; Henry's poverty, *ibid.*; various taxes and loans to supply the demands of the treasury, 450; adulteration of the coin, 451; Crammer's enemies accuse him, but are imprisoned, 454; the queen, Catherine Parr, incurs Henry's displeasure by her favour towards the reformers, 457; his illness, 461; disgrace of Gardiner, and the arrest of the Howards, 463; the king's will, 465; execution of the earl of Surry, 467; the duke of Norfolk attainted, 468; Henry's death, 472; character, 474; obsequiousness of the house of commons towards him, 479; influence of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, 481; extraordinary statutes passed in this reign, 483; prosecutions for treason, 486; his funeral, *vii.* 8, *note*.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, marries Matilda, daughter of Henry II. *ii.* 433.

——, prince, second son of Henry II. marries Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. *ii.* 332; crowned, 333; crowned again with his wife, 382; demands possession of Normandy, and goes over to his father-in-law, *ibid.*; enters into a compact with Louis against his father, 384; they are unsuccessful at Verneuil, 386; lay siege to Rouen, 393; Henry is reconciled with his father, 395; returns with him to England, 398; invades Aquitaine, his brother Richard's territory, 426; his death, 428.

—— d'Almaigne, son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, and king of the Romans, retained as a hostage, with his cousin Edward, by the earl of Leicester after the battle of Lewes, *iii.* 186; assassinated at Viterbo by Simon and Guy de Montfort, 211.

—— II. of France, succeeds his father Francis I. *vii.* 15; declares war against Edward VI. 66; Boulogne surrendered to him, 77; refuses to contract Mary of Scots with Edward, 78; makes peace, 79; contracts his daughter Elizabeth to Edward, 108; tries to prevent Mary's succession to the throne, 150.

—— III. of France (see *Anjou*), succeeds his brother Charles IX. *viii.* 124; sends Bellievre to remonstrate against the execution of Mary of Scots, 277; Guise makes himself master of the capital, and Henry orders him and his brother to be assassinated,

- 377; Henry is assassinated by Clement, a Dominican friar, 378.
- Henry, IV. of France (see *Navarre*), succeeds Henry III. viii. 379; the catholic nobles compel him, on his accession, to engage not to suffer the reformed religion, *ibid.*; supplied with money and troops by Elizabeth, 380; adjures the reformed religion, and thereby offends her, 382; refuses to give up Calais to her, 389; which is taken by the Spaniards, 390; makes peace with Spain, 412; publishes the edict of Nantes, 413; sends Sully on an embassy to James I. ix. 9; expostulates with James on the severity used against the catholics, 93; enters into a league for the expulsion of the Austrian power from the Netherlands, 169; is assassinated by Ravillac, *ibid.*
- Herbert, lord, his zeal in the cause of Charles I. x. 319; made earl of Glamorgan, and sent to Ireland to treat with the catholics, 321; concludes a secret treaty, 322; Digby complains of the proceedings, and Glamorgan is imprisoned, 324; is released, and prepares to raise the siege of Chester, 332; disbands his troops, 333; Charles's letter to him, 353; his "Century of Inventions," 354, *note*; account of his mission to Ireland, 469.
- , vice-admiral (earl of Torrington), escapes to Holland, where he has been promised the command of the Dutch fleet, xiv. 245.
- Hereford, pillaged by the Welsh, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, i. 420.
- , Humphrey de Bohun, earl of, disobeys the order of Edward I. to proceed with a reinforcement to Guienne, iii. 345; a new constable appointed, 346; his son surrenders his estates, 356.
- Heretics, penal statutes against, first enacted in the reign of Henry IV. iv. 444; the statute de hæretico comburendo repealed, xiii. 18, *note*.
- Hereward, son of the lord of Born, returns from Flanders, and plunders Peterborough, ii. 48; besieged by William I. 49.
- Hertford, earl of, uncle to Edward VI. invades Scotland, vi. 439; made protector, vii. 2; created duke of Somerset, 5. See *Somerset*.
- Hewet, Dr., brought to trial as a traitor to Cromwell's government, ix. 339; executed notwithstanding the intercession of the protector's daughter, 341.
- High commission, court of, see *Courts*.
- Hispaniola, Venables's expedition against, during the protectorate, ix. 258; its failure 259.
- Holand, sir John, half-brother to Richard II. strangles a friar who had given the king the particulars of a conspiracy, iv. 269; assassinate the son of the earl of Stafford, 272; his property confiscated, 273; is afterwards pardoned and marries the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, *ibid.*
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- Holland, earl of, raises forces against the parliament, after espousing its cause against Charles I. x. 419; brought to trial after the king's death, xi. 9; executed, 10.
- Hollis and others, leaders of the presbyterian party, to be excluded from parliament, x. 379; he and his colleagues resume the ascendancy, 387; refuse to yield to the lords, who vote for a personal treaty with Charles, 415.
- Holmes, sir Robert, sent by the African company to recover Cape Corse, xii. 116; dispatched to intercept the Dutch fleet, but fails in the attempt, 241.
- Holstein, Adolphus, duke of, offers himself as a suitor to queen Elizabeth, vii. 408; order of the garter bestowed on him, *ibid.*
- Homicide, punishment of, among the Anglo-Saxons, i. 496.
- Honorius III. successor of Innocent III. declares himself guardian of Henry III. iii. 105; his instructions to his legate, Pandulf, 109.
- Hooper, John, his objections on being named to the see of Gloucester by Edward VI. vii. 103; burnt for heresy in the reign of Mary, 264.
- Hotham, John, bishop of Ely, sent by Edward II. to treat with the Irish, iii. 411.

- Hotham, sir J., refuses to surrender up Hull to Charles I. and is proclaimed a traitor, x. 180; executed with his son, 284, *note*.
- Hotspur, Henry, son of the earl of Northumberland, fights at the battle of Homildon-hill, iv. 387; marries the sister of sir Edmund Mortimer, 390; joins Douglas and the Scots, and marches into Wales, 391; he and his father send a defiance to Henry IV. 392; slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, 394.
- Hough, Dr., chosen president of Magdalen college, Oxford, in opposition to Parker, xiv. 152; appeals from the sentence of annulment, 153; he and twenty-five of the fellows incapacitated from holding church preferment, 154; they are restored, 227.
- Howard, Catherine, daughter of lord Edmund Howard, becomes the fifth wife of Henry VIII. vi. 406; regarded with enmity by the reformers, 407; accused of incontinency with Dereham and Culpepper, who are executed, *ibid.*; condemned, 409; executed with lady Rochford, 410.
- , sir Edward, lord admiral, son of the earl of Surrey, commands a fleet against France, vi. 14; vows to revenge the death of sir Thomas Knyvet, 17; killed while blockading Brest, 21.
- , lord Thomas, brother of the preceding, succeeds him as admiral, vi. 21; commands jointly with his father the English at the battle of Flodden, 33; created earl of Surrey, 38. See *Surrey*.
- , of Effingham, lord, commands the fleet sent to oppose the Spanish armada, viii. 327.
- , lord, of Escrick, employed by the prince of Orange in promoting his intrigues in England, discovered and imprisoned, xii. 302; committed to the Tower on a charge by Fitz-Harris, xiii. 286; maintains a correspondence between the Rye-house conspirators and the Whig leaders, 325; sent to the Tower, 328; becomes witness against lord Russell, 329.
- Hubert de Burgh. See *Burgh*.
- Huguenots, French: the king of Navarre, Condé, Coligni, &c. enter into an association with the reformers, and plot against the court, vii. 391; Condé fortifies Orleans on the part of the insurgents, 416; troops under Warwick sent to their aid by Elizabeth, 419; Rouen taken by the royal army, 420; the insurgents defeated by the duke of Guise at the battle of Dreux, 422; the duke of Guise assassinated by a huguenot, 430; treaty of peace signed between the leaders of the two parties, 431; Condé proposes to surprise the court at Monceaux, the French and Spanish courts being reported to have entered into a league to extirpate the protestants, viii. 71; three thousand insurgents join the prince of Orange against Alva, 72; Condé receives aid from Elizabeth, 75; death of Condé and defeat of Coligni, 76; assassination of Coligni and general massacre of the protestants at Paris, 114; the protestants besieged in La Rochelle, 121; after another civil war the protestants

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- Hull, Charles I. hopes to induce sir J. Hotham to yield it up to him, x. 180; on his refusing him admittance proclaims him a traitor, 181.
- Hunsdon, lord, defeats Leonard Dacres, who makes a rising in favour of Mary of Scots, viii. 61; appointed to command the army intended for the queen's defence, in case of the Spaniards effecting an invasion, 326.
- Huntley, marquis of, sentenced to death by the Scottish parliament, at the petition of the kirk, xi. 23.
- Hussites, a crusade formed against, headed by cardinal Beaufort, v. 143.
- Hyde, sir Edward, made chancellor of the exchequer, by Charles I. xi. 273; enjoys the confidence of Charles II. *ibid.*; advises the restoration of episcopacy, xii. 23; is made earl of Clarendon, 30. See *Clarendon*.
- Hyde, son of the preceding, made earl of Rochester, xiii. 367. See *Rochester*.
- Jacqueline of Bavaria, countess of Hainault, her history, v. 89; marries Humphry, duke of Gloucester, 90; her possessions claimed by her former husband, *ibid.*; escapes from Ghent, 92; leaves the duke, and marries Frank of Bursellen, 94.
- Jaffa, siege of, ii. 245; recovered by Richard I. 470.
- Jamaica, ceded to England during the protectorate, xii. 259.
- James I. of Scotland, enters into a league with France, v. 135; abandons the siege of Roxburgh, 189; is assassinated in the Dominican convent at Perth, *ibid.*, *note*.
- II. of Scotland, killed by the bursting of a cannon, v. 238, *note*; Edward IV. deceives his widow by a pretended offer of marriage, *ibid.*
- III. of Scotland, quarrels with Edward IV. v. 312; his patronage of artists, *ibid.*; arrests his own brothers, the duke Albany and the earl of Mar, *ibid.*; several of his favourites executed by the rebellious barons, and James himself conveyed a prisoner to Edinburgh, 314; liberated by his brother Albany, 315; his eldest son affianced to Anne de la Pole, 357; forms a truce with Henry VII. 384; proposed that he shall marry the queen dowager of England, 398.
- IV. of Scotland, receives Perkin Warbeck, v. 426; declares war against Henry VII. but is pacified, and offers to marry the princess Margaret, 441; their nuptials celebrated, 444; claims from Henry VIII. the jewels bequeathed by her father to his consort, vi. 26; demands justice for the death of Andrew Barton, *ibid.*; favours the French, 27; invades England, 29; slain at the battle of Flodden, 35.
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- Ina, king of Wessex, succeeds Cædwalla, i. 194; publishes a code of laws, 195; invades Kent and Cornwall, *ibid.*; opposed by pretenders to the crown, 196; his queen, Ethelburga, retakes Taunton castle, *ibid.*; he builds Glastonbury abbey, &c. 197; solicited by his queen to retire to a cloister, *ibid.*; resigns the crown and goes to Rome, *ibid.*; his death, 198.
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- Indulgences, origin of, vi. 121; their abuse, 122; opposed by Luther, 124.
- Ingulf, bishop and historian, account of, ii. 45.
- Innocent III. sets aside the claims of Reginald and John de Gray to the see of Canterbury, iii. 23; bestows it on Stephen de Laugton, 25; lays John's dominions under interdict, 26; annuls the charter, 78; excommunicates Louis of France and his father, Philip Augustus, 85; dies, 86.
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- Investitures, disputes relative to, in the reign of Henry I. ii. 165.
- Joan, youngest daughter of Henry II. marries William II. of Sicily, ii. 443; imprisoned by his successor, Tancred, and afterwards restored to her brother, Richard I. 450.
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- , countess of Kent, relict of sir T. Holand, marries Edward the Black Prince, iv. 126; stopped by the rebels on Blackheath, 240; they burst into her apartments in the Tower, 244; obtains pardon for her son, sir John Holand, for killing a friar, 270; dies of grief on his being punished by his brother,

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- Joan of Arc, her history, v. 105 ; promises to Charles VII. to expel his enemies, 106 ; relieves Orleans, 109 ; destroys several forts, 110 ; takes Jargcau, which is defended by the earl of Suffolk, 111 ; assists at Charles's coronation at Rheims, 113 ; goes to the relief of Compeigne, 116 ; is taken prisoner, 117 ; her trial, 118 ; and execution, 120.
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- Kenilworth, the garrison of, holds out against Henry III. iii. 202; the Dictum de Kenilworth, 203.
- Kenneth, king of Scotland, visits Edgar, i. 323; obtains from him the province of Lothian, 324.
- Kent, Edmund, earl of, brother to Edward II. joins Isabella on her return from France with an army against her husband, iii. 453; arrested on the charge of treason against his nephew, Edward III. and executed, iv. 12.
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- "Killing no Murder," account of that publication, xi. 319; attributed to captain Titus, 321, *note*.
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- Lacy, Hugh de, command of Ireland given to him by Henry II. iii. 370; ordered to resign his authority, 374.
- , Roger de, constable of Chester, surrenders Chateau Gaillard, iii. 17.
- Lake, sir Thomas, and his lady, fined for accusing the countess of Exeter of an incestuous intrigue with their son-in-law, lord Roos, ix. 224.
- Lamb, Dr., physician to the duke of Buckingham, murdered by the mob, ix. 391.
- Lambert, a clergyman and schoolmaster, summoned before Cranmer for heresy, vi. 368; is executed, 370.
- , parliamentary general, he and Cromwell defeat the Scots, under the duke of Hamilton, x. 417; the duke yields himself prisoner to him, 418; succeeds Ireton as lord deputy of Ireland, xi. 128; opposes Cromwell's assumption of the title of king, 310; marches against the insurgent royalists, 399; rewarded by parliament, 401; Hazelrigg denounces him as author of a scheme for subverting the parliament, 402; he expels the parliament, 404; made major-general of the forces, 406; is sent against Monk, 412; his forces withdraw and he

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———, Henry Bolingbroke, duke of, son of the preceding, (see *Derby, Hereford*), his popularity iv. 351; returns from banishment, 354; the insurgents flock to his standard, 355; dispatches the earl of Northumberland to secure Richard II. 359; visits Richard at Flint Castle, and conducts him to Chester, 362; determines to depose him, 364; claims the succession, 368; is crowned, 373. See *Henry IV*.

Laneric, earl of, afterwards duke of Hamilton, one of the Scotch deputies to Charles II. in Holland, xi. 22.

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- Latimer, bishop, preaches before Edward VI. vii. 33; justifies the execution of sir Thomas Seymour, 50; imprisoned by Mary, 186; account of him, 269; examined before the convocation at Oxford, 271; executed with Ridley, 273.
- Laud, archbishop, introduced by Neile, bishop of Rochester, to James I. ix. 411; his rise under Charles I. 412; his vigilance over the interests of the church, 419; causes Leighton to be punished by the star-chamber, 423; succeeds Abbot in the see of Canterbury, x. 4; his zeal in enforcing the discipline of the church, 5; his vigilance against the catholics, 6, *note*; causes bishop Williams to be brought before the star-chamber, 11; vindicates himself from the charge of malice against him, 12; endeavours to establish the English liturgy in Scotland, 53; advises Charles to make peace with the Scots, 70; his arguments prove of no avail, 83; charged by Hollis with high treason, 109; a paper published against him and Strafford, by the Scots, 116; his trial, 279; his defence, 280; his execution, 284.
- Lauderdale, earl of, made secretary of state in Scotland, at the restoration, xii. 50; is one of the 'Cabal,' 232; his character, 235; address presented to Charles, for dismissing him from the ministry, 289; reasons alleged by the king for not doing so, 313; although a presbyterian, Lauderdale supports episcopacy, 336; holds a parliament in Scotland, as royal commissioner, 339; opposes field-conventicles, 341; returns to Scotland with the title of duke, and with the countess of Dysart, formerly his mistress, now his wife, 343; opposition in parliament against him, 345; address voted by the commons for his removal, xiii. 50.
- Laws, Ethelbert's, i. 113; code of laws formed by Ina, king of Wessex, 195; Athelstan's laws, 298; Canute's, 378.
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- League of Cambray, vi. 9.
- Learning, state of, in the reign of Henry I. ii. 217; logic of the schools, 218; course of studies, 219; Gallo-Norman poets, 220; origin of romance, 222.
- Legat, Bartholomew, a unitarian, burnt, in the reign of James I. ix. 217.
- Leicester, Simon de Montfort, earl of, in the reign of Henry III. See *Montfort*.
- , Robert, Dudley, earl of, (see *Dudley*), is advised by Throckmorton to urge Norfolk to marry Mary of Scots, viii. 43; the duke proposes that Leicester himself should marry her, *ibid.*; opposes, with Walsingham and Hatton, Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou, 143; secretly marries the widow of Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, with whom he is supposed to have previously cohabited, 153, *note*; obtains the office of captain-general of the Netherlands, 246; incurs Elizabeth's anger, 247; she at length consents to send him supplies, 248; attaches the reformed clergy to him by his religious hypo-

- crisy, 314; appointed lord-lieutenant of England and Ireland immediately before his death, 344; his character, 345.
- Leighton, Dr. non-conforming minister, punished by the star-chamber for his work against episcopacy, entitled, "An Appeal to Parliament," ix. 422.
- , son of the preceding, appointed to the see of Dunblain, on the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland, xii. 61; translated to Glasgow, 342.
- , sir Ellis, Buckingham's confidant, ordered to be committed to the Tower, but escapes, xiii. 10.
- Lennox, earl of, father-in-law to Mary, queen of Scots, made regent of Scotland after the death of Murray, viii. 63; takes the castle of Dunbarton, and executes the archbishop of St. Andrew's, 110; attaints the Hamiltons and Maitland, and is surprised by their party at Stirling, and put to death, *ibid*.
- Lenthal, chosen speaker of the house of commons, in opposition to Gardiner, who is fixed upon by the king, x. 101; chosen speaker in Cromwell's parliament, xi. 235; exempted from the indemnity act, xii. 13.
- Leo X. succeeds Julius II. vi. 19; creates Wolsey a cardinal, 52; appoints him papal legate, 57; dies, and is succeeded by Adrian VI. 84.
- Leopold, duke of Austria, makes Richard I. prisoner at Vienna, ii. 474; sells him to the emperor Henry VII. 482; his death, 498.
- Lesley, general, appointed commander in chief of the parliamentary army, x. 69; summons the Scots to his standard, 74; crosses the Tweed, 93; accepts the command of the parliamentary forces after being created earl of Leven by Charles, 228.
- , David, son of the preceding, the command of the Scots entrusted to him, on account of his father's infirmities, xi. 55; harasses Cromwell by avoiding an engagement, 57; defeated by him at Dunbar, 61.
- Levellers, their origin and principles, x. 393; progress of their doctrines among the military, xi. 11; their demands relative to holding parliaments, and the abolition of the high court of justice and of tithes, 13; Lilburn, their leader, excites a mutiny by his political writings, 14, 103; their principles of government, 457; and religion, 458.
- Lewes, battle of, between Henry III. and the earl of Leicester, in which the former is made prisoner, iii. 185; the *mise* or treaty of Lewes, *ibid*.
- Licensing act, expiry of, and the consequent licentiousness of the press, xiii. 195, *note*.
- Lichfield, archbishopric of, founded by Offa, i. 172; abolished by Cenulf, 182.
- Lilburn, colonel, condemned to stand in the pillory, for refusing to take the oath to parliament, xi. 11, *note*; the sum of three thousand pounds voted to him, 12; is committed to the Tower for publishing various pamphlets against the government, 14;

- he continues to publish while in confinement, 103; is tried and acquitted, 104; banished, 105; returns, and is sent to Newgate, 188; again tried and acquitted, but confined in the Tower, 190; his death, 191, *note*.
- Limerick, besieged by Ireton, xi. 125; capitulates to him, *ibid*.
- Limitations, bill of, framed by Halifax to secure the protestant religion in the event of a catholic sovereign, xiii. 253.
- Limoges, massacre of the inhabitants, by the Black Prince, iv. 136.
- Lincoln, the castle besieged by Stephen, who is made prisoner by his cousin Robert, earl of Gloucester, ii. 246; battle of, at the beginning of the reign of Henry III. iii. 100.
- , John, earl of, son of the duchess of Suffolk, declared heir apparent by his uncle Richard III. v. 357; he joins the pretended earl of Warwick against Henry VII. 390; killed at the battle of Stoke, 393.
- Lincolnshire, invaded and pillaged by the Danes, i. 226.
- Lindsay, earl of, the command of the royal army given to him, x. 197; slain at the battle of Edgehill, 200.
- Lisle, sir George, shot as a traitor, by order of parliament, after the surrender of Colchester, x. 420.
- Llewellyn, son of Griffith, and his brother David, acknowledge themselves vassals to Henry III. iii. 125; refuses to do homage to Edward I. 257; his brother favours Edward, *ibid*.; Llewellyn compelled to sue for peace, 258; Edward's generosity towards the brothers, 260; their subsequent revolt, 261; Llewellyn's death, 263.
- Loans, on parliamentary security, origin of, iv. 251, *note*.
- Lockhart, Scotch judge, and husband of Cromwell's niece, sent by the Protector to form an alliance with Louis XIV. xi. 324.
- Lodbrog, Ragnar, Northern Sea-king, takes Paris, i. 222; invades England, and is put to death by Ælla, 224; his sons &c. combine to avenge his death, *ibid*.
- Lollards, the disciples of Wicliffe, their petition to Richard II. iv. 319; they preach against the revenue of the church, 442; raise an insurrection, v. 3; persecuted under Henry VIII. vi. 363.
- London, cathedral built by Ethelbert and Saberct, i. 111; besieged by Canute, 364.
- Longchamp, William de, minister of Richard I. his history, ii. 475; attempts to remove him, 477; deprived of his office, 480; retires to Normandy, 481.
- Lopez, Roderigo, a Jewish physician in the service of Elizabeth, accused of offering to poison her, viii. 386.
- Lords, house of, its powers, v. 226.
- Lorrain, duke of, offers to assist the Irish against the English commonwealth, on condition of being acknowledged protector, xi. 119; Taaffe subscribes to his commands, 122.
- Loudon, a covenanter, committed to the Tower for soliciting the aid of the king of France, x. 81, *note*; sent to Scotland by Charles, 91; made an earl, 147.

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Lovelace, lord, defeated in his attempt to join the prince of Orange's troops, and taken prisoner, xiv. 217.

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Louis VII. his daughter Margaret married to Henry, son of Henry II. ii. 332; enters into a league with the prince against his father, 382; defeated, 384; his subsequent plans, 385; he besieges Rouen, 393.

— VIII. eldest son of Philip Augustus, the English crown offered to him by John's barons, iii. 83; his claim grounded on the right of his wife, Blanche of Castile, John's niece, 84; excommunicated by Innocent III. 85; lands in England, 86; besieges Dover-castle, 88; receives the homage of Alexander II. of Scots, *ibid.*; his difficulties after John's death, 98; his army defeated at the battle of Lincoln, 100; his fleet, under Eustace le Moine, defeated, 101; returns to France, 102; on his father's death, refuses to restore Normandy, &c. to England, according to treaty, 125; takes Poitou, 126; his death, *ibid.*

— IX. succeeds his father Louis VIII. iii. 126; opposes Henry III. 130; gains the battle of Taillebourg, 131; pardons the count de la Marche for rebelling against his brother, 132; concludes a truce with Henry, 133; decides between Henry and the party of the earl of Leicester in favour of the former, 179; invites prince Edward to join him in a crusade to the Holy Land, 209; dies at Tunis, 210.

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- , daughter of Henry VIII. affianced to the dauphin, son of Francis I. vi. 56; afterwards to Charles V. 85; her hand offered to Francis I. 161; reconciled to her father after the death of Anne Boleyn, 326; Surrey suspected of aspiring to her hand, 464; objects to Somerset against further innovations in religion, vii. 90; commanded to conform to the new creed, 91; her chaplains prevented from saying mass, 93; she refuses to conform, 96; the castle of Hertford, &c. granted her, 134; Northumberland prevails on Edward to pass over her and

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- , daughter of Henry II. marries Henry, duke of Saxony, ii. 433.
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- Maximilian, king of the Romans, his daughter contracted to Charles VIII. of France, v. 401; married by proxy to Anne of Bretagne, 408; who is afterwards compelled to marry Charles, 409; joins in the league of Cambray, vi. 10; advances to Milan

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- Middleton, earl of, appointed lord chief commissioner of Scotland at the restoration, xii. 50; his habits of intoxication, 51, *note*; strives to exalt the power of the crown, and abolish the covenant, 51; resolves to annul all the proceedings of the Scottish parliaments for the preceding twenty-eight years, 53; effects the restoration of episcopacy, 60; advises Charles to withdraw the English forces from Scotland, 62.
- Middlesex, Cranfield, earl of, impeached for bribery, &c., ix. 304; sentenced to fine and imprisonment, 305.
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- Monk, George, taken prisoner at the battle of Nantwich, x. 248; concludes a truce with O'Nial in Ulster, xi. 28; left to reduce Scotland, 76; takes Stirling, and sends the Scottish regalia to London, 139; takes the command of the English fleet, and blockades the Texel, 221; defeats Van Tromp, *ibid.*; offers made to him by Charles, on which Cromwell hints to him that he is aware of the intrigue, 409; determines to revenge the affronts put upon him by the republicans, but is deterred by Lambert's victory, 410; promises to support Hazelrig and his party, 411; Lambert is sent against him, 412; Monk marches to York, 417; and to London, 418; refuses, when ordered by parliament, to abjure the house of Stuart, 421; is ordered to chas-

tise the citizens, 422; but joins them, 424; admits the secluded members to parliament, 425; his contradictory conduct explained, 427; sends Grenville to Charles, 433; receives the king at Dover, 443; made one of the committee of foreign affairs, xii. 4; joined with prince Rupert in the command of the fleet against Holland, 144; separates from Rupert, and his squadron is greatly disabled by the Dutch, 145; his conduct censured on his return, 146; his subsequent success, 147; opposes the Dutch fleet in the Medway, 168; his death and character, 226.

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———, bishop of Chichester, assures Panzani that the English would not object to the spiritual supremacy of the pope, x. 7.

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- mentation of Charles II.'s pension, xiii. 24, *note*; receives a letter from Danby, which he afterwards employs to ruin that minister, 46; commences an intrigue against him, in which he is aided by Barillon, 113; elected for Northampton, 114; his papers seized by Danby, 116; he produces Danby's papers to the house, 117; his perfidy and baseness, 120.
- Montfort, John, earl of, brother to John III. of Bretagne, claims the duchy, and is supported in his pretensions by Edward III. iv. 52; it is adjudged by Philip to Charles of Blois, *ibid.*; he escapes from the Louvre, and returns to Hennebont, 53; appoints Edward guardian to his son, 54; surrenders Brest to Richard II. 230.
- , Jane, duchess of Bretagne, wife of the preceding, besieged by, and heroically resists, Charles de Blois, at Hennebont, iv. 54; relieved by the English, *ibid.*; takes the city of Vannes, *ibid.*
- , Simon de, earl of Leicester, his history, iii. 157; marries Eleanor, sister of Henry III. 158; accused of peculation, *ibid.*; deprived of the duchy of Guienne, 159; leagues with the barons against Henry, 161; procures the banishment of the king's brothers, 166; retires into France in consequence of Gloucester's ascendancy, 170; returns and renews his plans, 175; his party extort from Henry compliance with their views, 177; rejects the decision of Louis XI. in favour of Henry, 180; he takes the king prisoner at the battle of Lewes, 185; retains prince Edward as a hostage, 186; exercises the royal authority, 187; crushes the efforts of the lords of the Welch marches, 194; the earl of Gloucester deserts him, 195; Gloucester assists prince Edward to escape, 196; Leicester is driven into Wales, 198; his son, Simon, defeated by prince Edward, 199; himself and eldest son, Henry, slain at Evesham, 201; his widow ordered to quit the kingdom, 202.
- Montrevil, French envoy, employed by Charles I. to negotiate with the Scots, x. 327; advises him to accept the conditions offered, 329; proceeds to Scotland, 336.
- Montrose, James Graham, marquis of, offers his services to Charles I. to restore the power of the royalists in Scotland, x. 297; defeats Elcho at Tippermuir, 299; defeats Argyle, 300; and the covenanters at Kilsyth, 313; proceeds as one of the Scots deputies to Charles II. xi. 23; advises him not to take the covenant, *ibid.*; raises the royal standard in Scotland, 46; defeated by Leslie, and afterwards taken prisoner, 47; tried before the parliament, 48; his heroic demeanour, 49; and death, 50; his remains reburied, xii. 57, *note*.
- Moore, Roger, of Ballynagh, excites the native Irish to take up arms in the reign of Charles I. x. 148.
- Mordaunt, Mr., brother to the earl of Peterborough, among the royalists brought to trial by Cromwell, ix. 339.
- More, sir Thomas, chosen speaker of the commons, vi. 90; unfavourable to Henry's divorce, 168; made chancellor on Wolsey's death, 218; resigns, 276; his opinion of the pre-

- tended prophetess, Elizabeth Barton, 277 ; summoned before the council, 278 ; imprisoned in the Tower, 279 ; his trial, 288 ; and execution, 292.
- Mortimer, Roger, lord, escapes from the Tower, iii. 445 ; goes to France and enters the service of Charles IV. 446 ; made chief officer of her household, by Isabella, queen to Edward II. 449 ; Edward offers a reward for his head on his return, 454 ; proceeds with Isabella to meet the parliament at Westminster, 461 ; scandal excited by his intimacy with the queen, 467 ; obtains the estates of the Spencers and title of earl of March, iv. 1 ; his power, 10 ; lord Montacute advises the young Edward to shake off his power, 15 ; Mortimer is seized, 17 ; and executed, 18.
- Mortimer's Cross, battle of, Edward duke of York (Edward IV.) defeats the Lancastrians, v. 222.
- Mortmain, statutes of, enacted in the reign of Edward I. iii. 366.
- Morton, earl of, aids in Rizzio's murder, vii. 460 ; Murray and Bothwell obtain his recall from banishment on condition of his joining in their plot against Darnley, 477 ; is one of the commissioners in Mary's case, and defends, before Elizabeth, the proceedings of the party against her, viii. 81 ; takes money for the liberation of the earl of Northumberland, and then delivers him up to Elizabeth, 111 ; succeeds the earl of Marr as regent, 119 ; reduces the castle of Edinburgh, 120 ; his rapacity, 187 ; humbles himself to be lieutenant of the queen of England, *ibid.* ; resigns the regency, on the government being confided to James, but recovers his power again, 188 ; accused of Darnley's murder, and arrested, 189 ; is executed, 192.
- Morton, Dr., pardoned by Edward IV. and raised to the see of Ely, v. 293.
- , Dr., Nicholas, apostolical penitentiary from Rome, instigates an insurrection in the northern counties for the purpose of liberating Mary queen of Scots from captivity, viii. 52, *note*.
- Mounteagle, lord, his brother-in-law, Tresham, one of the conspirators in the gunpowder-plot, wishes to warn him of the danger of attending parliament, ix. 67 ; he receives a letter to that effect, 68 ; visits the cellar under the house of lords with the lord chamberlain, 73 ; his sister, Mrs. Abingdon, conceals Garnet, the jesuit, and some others of the conspirators, 79 ; rewarded with lands and an annuity, 91.
- Mountjoy, earl of, advises Essex to escape to the continent, viii. 442 ; accepts the office of deputy in Ireland, 443.
- Mountnorris, lord, vice-treasurer of Ireland, tried by a court-martial, in consequence of offending Wentworth, x. 48.
- Mowbray, Robert, earl of Northumberland, rebels against Rufus, ii. 128 ; imprisoned for life in Windsor-castle, 130.
- Murder, penalties for, ii. 77.
- Murray, lord James Stuart, natural brother to Mary of Scots, created earl of, vii. 440 ; swerves from his loyalty towards Mary, and opposes her match with Darnley as inimical to his

interests, 445; plan entered into to place him at the head of the government, 446; money sent to him from England, 448; driven with his associates from Dumfries, goes to London, and has an interview with Elizabeth, 449; made one of the new administration formed by Mary, 471; accused by Darnley of a design to assassinate him, 474; enters into a conspiracy against him, *ibid.*; they are joined by Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyle, and propose to Mary a divorce from Darnley, 475; Murray is appointed regent, Mary being compelled to sign an instrument, by which she resigns the crown in favour of her son, viii. 8; visits her in her prison at Lochleven to obtain her acquiescence in this measure, 9; undertakes to communicate secretly to the English commissioners proofs of her guilt, 26; denies having extorted her resignation, 27; desires a compromise, 28; charges her with murder, 33; she boldly repels the charge, 36; Murray proposes to the duke of Norfolk that the duke should marry her, 40; he is shot in the streets of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, 61.

Nantwich, battle of, x. 247.

Naseby, battle of, Charles I. defeated by Cromwell, x. 305.

Nassau, Frederic, prince of, sent by the States of Holland to congratulate James I. on his accession, ix. 8.

Naval actions, &c.: capture of a Turkish galley by Richard I. ii. 459; the French fleet under Eustace le Moine, defeated by Hubert de Burgh, reign of Henry III. iii. 101; Edward III. defeats a French fleet, iv. 43; and a Spanish one, 84; a fleet under sir John Paveley sent against the French, 117; state of the navy in the reign of Edward III. 191; victory obtained by the duke of Bedford, who relieves Harfleur from blockade, v. 36; action between sir Edward Howard and Primauguet, vi. 17; Drake's expedition against Cadiz, viii. 315; the Spanish armada, 335; victory at Cadiz by lord Howard of Effingham, 392; expedition against Cadiz in 1625, ix. 336; actions between Blake and Van Tromp, xii. 153, 158, 218; Monk's victory over Van Tromp, 221; capture of a Spanish fleet by Blake and Montague, 285; Blake's victory at Santa Cruz, 321; the royal fleet destroyed by Cromwell, 337; the duke of York's victory over the Dutch, June 3, 1665, xii. 124; the battle of Southwold Bay, 248; action between prince Rupert and De Ruyter, 278.

— Tactics, system of fighting in a line introduced by James, duke of York, xii. 122, *note*.

Navarre, Jean d'Albret, king of, his right contested by Gaston de Foix, vi. 14; deprived of his possessions by Ferdinand, 16.

—, Antoine, de Bourbon, titular king of, induced by Throckmorton to enter into an association in favour of the French reformers, vii. 391; appointed lieutenant-general of France during the minority of Charles XI. 415; mortally wounded at the siege of Rouen, 420.

Naylor, James, a fanatic, punished for blasphemy, xi. 294.

- Nesta, mistress of Henry I. and mother of Robert, earl of Gloucester, ii. 263, *note*.
- Netherlands, insurrection in, viii. 69; the duke of Alva sent to suppress it, 70; the French protestants join the prince of Orange, who is afterwards obliged to disband his army, 72; a squadron laden with money for Alva seized by the English, 73; Alva, in consequence, imprisons the English merchants in Flanders, 74; Elizabeth's retaliation, *ibid.*; discontent of the inhabitants occasioned by the free quarters of Alva's troops, 126; La Marque raises the standard of independence, and many of the towns throw off the Spanish yoke, 127; the prince of Orange made stadtholder 128; reconciliation between Alva and Elizabeth, 129; Orange offers the sovereignty of the States to Elizabeth, which she refuses, 131; but gives them aid, 134; she afterwards forms an alliance with the Belgian insurgents, 243; war in the Spanish Netherlands, xiii. 19; Louis XIV. takes Ghent and Ipres, 43.
- Nevil, sir Humphrey, leader of the insurgent Lancastrians, in the reign of Edward IV. executed, v. 265.
- Newcastle, marquis of, his antipathy to prince Rupert, x. 254; deserts the royalists after the battle of Marston Moor, and escapes to the continent, *ibid.*
- Nichols, his changes in religion, and informations against the catholics, viii. 181, *note*.
- Nimeguen, congress at, in 1674, xiii. 1; treaty of peace between France and the United Provinces, July, 1678, 56; treaty between Charles II. and the king of Spain to maintain the peace, 210.
- Noailles, French ambassador, endeavours to prevent Mary's marriage with Philip, viii. 180; his intrigues with the discontented, 195; thereby incurs Mary's enmity, 230; ordered by Henry to persist in his intrigues, 234; his chagrin at Mary's marriage, 235; procures opposition to a bill for a subsidy, 292; succeeded, as ambassador, by his brother the bishop of Acs, 301.
- Norfolk, Roger Bigod, earl of, marshal of England, he and the earl of Hereford refuse to take the command of the force destined by Edward I. for Guienne, iii. 345; a new marshal and constable appointed, 346; the earl surrenders his estates, 356.
- , Catherine, duchess of, marries, in her eightieth year, John, the younger brother of lady Elizabeth Gray, v. 251.
- , duke of (see *Surrey*), commissioned to conduct the bill of six articles in the house of lords, vi. 380; his niece, Catherine Howard, married to Henry VIII. 406; excluded from the number of Henry's executors, 465; is arrested and imprisoned, 467; his confession, and petition that his estate may be settled on prince Edward, 470; is attainted, 471; the attainder reversed by Mary, 472.
- , duke of, appointed one of the commissioners in the cause between Mary of Scots and Murray, viii. 25; Maitland suggests a marriage between him and Mary, 29; the duke denies to Elizabeth the intention to wed her, 41; is urged to it by Murray, 42; proposes first Leicester, afterwards his own brother,

as a husband for her, 43; detected in a conspiracy in favour of Mary, 96; his trial, 100; defence, 101; condemned, 104; Elizabeth's reluctance to sign the warrant, 105; she is urged to it by Burleigh, who gets the parliament to petition for his death, 106; Norfolk is executed, 107.

Normandy, dissension and reconciliation between duke Richard and Ethelred, i. 344.

———, William, duke of, visits Edward the Confessor, i. 410; his descent, and claim to the English crown, 425; detains Harold as his prisoner, 426; compels him to swear fealty to him, 427; claims the crown on the death of Edward, 435; lands in England, 441; gains the battle of Hastings, 451. See *William I.*

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North-east passage to India, attempt to discover in the reign of Edward VI. vii. 147.

Northumberland, Nevil, lord Montague, made earl of, by Edward IV. v. 245.

———, Dudley, earl of Warwick, made duke of, vii. 110; procures Somerset's arrest, *ibid.*; commits bishop Tunstal to the Tower, 123; his wealth and power, 132; marries his son to lady Jane Gray, 134; induces Edward VI. to alter the succession in favour of lady Jane, 135; endeavours to secure the person of the princess Mary, 142; his alarm at Mary's success, 162; ordered to disband his forces, 165; arrested on a charge of high treason, 166; brought to trial, 173; is executed, 174.

———, Thomas Percy, earl of, Mary of Scots applies to him to assist her, when in captivity, viii. 51; he joins the earl of Westmoreland for that purpose, 52; (see *Westmoreland*); he escapes to Scotland, where he is confined by Murray in Lochlevin castle, 58; treacherously delivered up by the earl of Morton to Elizabeth, and beheaded at York without a trial, 112.

———, Henry Percy, brother of the preceding, sent to the Tower as an accomplice in Throckmorton's conspiracy, viii. 236; found shot in his bed, supposed to have destroyed himself, 237.

———, earl of, enters into a plot against James I. which he afterwards abandons, ix. 11; imprisoned on account of his relation, Thomas Percy, being concerned in the gunpowder-plot, 89; applies himself, in the Tower, to literary and scientific pursuits, 90, *note*.

Northumbria, union of Deira and Bernicia, under Edwin, i. 120; conquered by the Mercians, 121; deaths of Osric and Eanfrid, 129; Oswald's reign, *ibid.*; conversion of the people to christianity, 130; Oswio allots Deira to Oswin, 134; Mercia con-

- quered and annexed to Northumbria, 139; Egfrid succeeds his father Oswio, 149; reign of Alfred, 155; other Northumbrian kings, 156; Ceolwulf, 157; Eadbert, *ibid.*; Oswulf, 158; Alchred, *ibid.*; Alfwold, 159; Ethelred, *ibid.*; invasion of an army of Danes, 160; Eardulf, *ibid.*; subsequent anarchy and rebellions, 162; the kingdom conquered by Egbert, 208; by the Danes, 224; annexed by Athelstan to his dominions, 284; finally subdued by Edred, 304; murder of Uhtred, earl of Northumbria, 362.
- Oates, Titus, account of, xiii. 63; employed by Dr. Tonge, a clergyman, to contrive a plot against the jesuits, 64; he makes affidavit as to the truth of his narrative, 69; his depositions before the privy council, 70; his charges against the jesuits countenanced by Coleman's correspondence, 78; asserts that catholics have been appointed to all the great offices of state, 85; the earl of Powis, &c. are, in consequence, committed to the Tower, 86; Oates declares the duke of York to be ignorant of the plot, 91; Bedloe comes forward as a witness to the plot, 97; Oates accuses the queen as concerned in the same conspiracy, 102; trials arising out of his plot, 105; rewards given to him and Bedloe, 135, *note*; his evidence objected to by lord Stafford, on his trial, 235; indicted for scandalum magnatum against the duke of York, 362; convicted and fined, xiv. 23, *note*; a pension allowed him by William III. *ibid.*
- Octarchy, the Saxon, established, i. 105.
- Odo, half-brother to William the Conqueror, and bishop of Bayeux, appointed joint regent with Fitz Osbern, during William's absence in Normandy, ii. 18; aspires to the papacy, 89; imprisoned by William, 90; released, 96; fomenta a conspiracy against William Rufus, 110; besieged by him in Pevensey, *ibid.*; he escapes to Normandy, 111.
- O'Dogherty, his revolt in the reign of James I. which is terminated by his death, ix. 199.
- Offa, king of Mercia, i. 171; his conquests, 172; opposes the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, 173; founds a metropolitan see at Lichfield, 174; his correspondence with Charlemagne, 175; proposed marriage between their children broken off, 177; murders Ethelbert, king of East Anglia, 178; endows the abbey of St. Alban's, 179; succeeded by his son Egferth, *ibid.*; extinction of his family, 180; fate of his daughter Eadburga, 205.
- Olave, king of Norway, subdues the Orkneys, i. 342; invades England, in conjunction with Sweyn, *ibid.*; they ravage Essex, &c., *ibid.*; induced by Ethelred to quit the kingdom, *ibid.*; converts his subjects to christianity, 343.
- Oldcastle, sir John, leader of the Lollards, v. 3; escapes from the Tower, 5; leaves his concealment, and is taken prisoner, 43; executed, 44.
- O'Nial, Phelim, opposes Essex's attempt to subdue Ulster, viii. 152; is assassinated by him, *ibid.*, *note*.
- , Shanes, son of the earl of Tyrone, claims the chieftaincy

of Ulster, viii. 149 ; visits queen Elizabeth, *ibid.* ; rebels, 150 ; is assassinated, *ibid.* ; his name and dignity extinguished by act of parliament, *ibid.*

O'Nial, Phelim, joins Roger Moore, x. 149 ; he surprises Charlemont and Dungannon, 154.

——, Owen, is proclaimed a rebel by the council, xi. 28 ; concludes a treaty with Monk, 33, 34, *note* ; afterwards accepts the offers of the royalists, but dies on his way to join them, 40.

——, Hugh, defends Limerick against Ireton, xi. 123 ; after the capitulation of the city is doomed to die by Ireton, but saved by the officers, 125.

Opdam, takes the command of the Dutch fleet, xii. 123 ; his vessel blown up in the engagement with the English under the duke of York, June 3, 1665, 124.

Orange, William II. prince of, son-in-law of Charles I. his death, xi. 148.

——, William III. son of the preceding, his birth, xi. 148 ; Cromwell's intrigues against him prove favourable to his interests, 226 ; declared captain-general of the army and admiral of the fleet, xii. 253 ; undertakes to liberate his country from factions, 275 ; reduces Naerden and joins Montecuccilli, 293 ; intrigues with a party in England for the succession to the crown, 302 ; declines the hand of the princess Mary, 306 ; defeated at Cassel, xiii. 20 ; he marries the princess Mary, daughter of the duke of York, 27 ; contends for the restoration of Franche Comte to Spain, 28 ; afterwards sacrifices the Spanish interests, *ibid.* ; compelled to assent to a peace with France, 51 ; visited by Monmouth, who endeavours to remove his jealousy of him, 184 ; suspected of promoting the duke of York's exclusion, 208 ; wins Godolphin and Sunderland to his interests, 209 ; seeks a reconciliation with James after that prince's accession, xiv. 18 ; causes of the estrangement between them, 164 ; James denies any intention of changing the succession, 170 ; William invites Burnet to his court, 173 ; his consort promises him that he shall possess the sovereign authority, *ibid.* ; his attachment to Mrs. Villiers (lady Orkney), *ibid.* ; is offended with Skelton, the English ambassador, for interfering in his amours, 174 ; sends Dyckvelt to learn the state of affairs in England, 176 ; and afterwards Zuleistein, 179 ; he assumes a more independent tone towards James in consequence of the assurances he receives, 180 ; Fagel's letter to Stewart against the repeal of the test, 181 ; William's artful conduct and affected zeal for the protestant religion, 184 ; he fomented dissension between the States and James, 185 ; and secretly procures ships and men, 187 ; his preparations for an attempt against England frustrated by the premature delivery of James's queen, 213 ; he receives assurances of support from the earl of Shrewsbury and other noblemen, 214 ; dexterously avails himself of the state of the continent to conceal his designs on England, 216 ; instigates the emperor, king of Spain, &c. to form the league of Augsbourg against Louis XIV.

- 217; gains over, not only the catholic powers, but the pope himself, to his interests, *ibid.*; pretends to be preparing only to resist France, while meditating an attack on England, 218; is left at liberty to pursue his designs by the war between Louis and the empire, 224; justifies his intended expedition against James, 229; assures the emperor and king of Spain that his object is to reconcile James with his subjects, 232; circular from the States to the same effect, 233; force collected for the expedition, 234; William takes leave of the States, 235; sails from Helvoetsluys, but is driven back, 238; arrives in Torbay, 245; is at first disappointed at his reception, 247; lord Cornbury deserts to him, 248; also Grafton and Churchill, 254; prince George of Denmark, Ormond, &c., 255; William refuses to see the commissioners sent to negotiate with him by James, 262; his answer to their paper, 265; his perplexity with regard to disposing of James, 279; who is ordered to quit Whitehall, 281; William arrives at St. James's, 283.
- Ordeal, purgation by, i. 493; trial by, ii. 411; abolition of, in the reign of Henry III. iii. 235.
- Orderic, the historian, account of, ii. 247, *note*.
- Orleans, city of, besieged by the English, v. 102; relieved by Joan of Arc, 109.
- , Maid of, see *Joan of Arc*.
- , Louis, duke of, brother of Charles VI. challenges Henry IV. iv. 416; assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, 420.
- , duchess of (the princess Henrietta, youngest sister of Charles II.), marries Philip, only brother to Louis XIV. xii. 82; Buckingham opens a negotiation with her, to promote Charles's interest with Louis, 200; she visits her brother, 215; dies suddenly, supposed to have been poisoned, 218.
- Orleton, Adam, bishop of Hereford, instigates Isabella, wife of Edward II. to invade her husband's dominions, iii. 453; ordered by her to bring accusations against the king, 455; his speech in the parliament at Westminster, 461.
- Ormond, marquis of, lord lieutenant of Ireland, commanded by Charles I. to conclude peace, x. 296; surrenders Dublin to the parliamentary forces, 355; comes to England, 356; proposed that he should resume the government of Ireland, 392; sent by the queen from Paris to make peace with the catholics, 424, *note*; re-appointed to the government of Ireland, xi. 26; his enemies accuse him to Charles of disloyalty, but the latter sends him the order of the garter, 37; is joined by O'Nial, 40; advises Charles to provoke a war between England and Scotland, as the only means of preserving Ireland, 45; is mistrusted by the catholics, 111; quits Ireland, after appointing Clanricard as his deputy, 115; recommends applying for aid to the pope, 120, *note*; is one of the confidential adherents of Charles in his exile, 273; visits London in disguise, to sound the disposition of different parties in favour of Charles, 334; returns to the continent, in consequence of being betrayed by Willis, 337;

- comes to London to obtain an explanatory act relative to grants of land xii. 70; rejects the remonstrances of the catholics, 71. *note*; resigns the government of Ireland to lord Robartes, 198; his narrow escape from assassination by Blood, 228; pardons Blood at the king's request, 230; is recalled from Ireland, 349; opposes the Irish petitioners, 350; complaints brought against him, 351.
- Osburga, mother of Alfred the Great, i. 232.
- Osric, prince of Northumbria, attacks Ceadwalla, and is slain, i. 129.
- Oswald, son of Edilfrid, sixth Bretwalda, his reign, i. 128; revenges the deaths of Osric and Eanwald, 129; vanquishes Ceadwalla, 130; invites Christian missionaries, *ibid.*; bestows the island of Lindisfarne on Aidan, 131; converts Cynegils, 132; vanquished by Penda and slain, *ibid.*
- Oswio, seventh Bretwalda, i. 134; marries Eanfled, Edwin's daughter, *ibid.*; allots Deira to Oswin, *ibid.*; seeks to propitiate Penda, 136; converts Sigebert, 137; vanquishes Penda in the battle of Winwidfield, 138; overruns East Anglia and Mercia, 139; subdues and partitions the latter, *ibid.*; his daughter Ælfleda dedicated to a monastic life, *ibid.*; a kingdom assigned to his son, Alchfrid, 141; Oswio endeavours to establish religious uniformity, 144; his death, 147; succeeded by Egfrid, 149.
- Otho, cardinal, attempts to reconcile Henry III. with his barons, iii. 156; appointed by him to the see of Winchester, 157.
- Overbury, sir Thomas, employed by Somerset as his assistant in public business, ix. 142; courted on account of his influence with him, *ibid.*; imprisoned in the Tower, through the intrigues of the countess of Essex, for refusing to accept a mission to Russia, 145; dies, as supposed, by poison, 146; inquiry into his death, 154; execution of Mrs. Turner, Weston, &c., 156; Somerset and his wife convicted, but pardoned, 160.
- Oxford, the *mad* parliament held there in the reign of Henry III. iii. 162; its provisions annulled, 179; the celebrated decree passed by the university in favour of passive obedience, xiii. 340; dispute between James II. and the fellows of Magdalen, relative to the appointment of a president, xiv. 150; he appoints Dr. Giffard, a catholic, president, 193; Dr. Hough and the fellows restored, 227.
- , Robert de Vere, earl of, created duke of Ireland, by Richard II. iv. 317. See *Ireland*.
- , Vere, earl of, his fate after his escape from the battle of Barnet, v. 290.
- , countess of, wife of the preceding, and sister of Warwick, the 'king-maker,' reduced to support herself by needlework, v. 290.
- Panzani, Gregorio, envoy from Urban VIII. to Charles I. x. 6; induces Charles to stop the vexations of the catholics, 8.

Papal provisions, nature of, iii. 140.

Paris, massacre of the Armagnacs at, by the Burgundians, v. 45.

Parker, Dr. Matthew, chaplain to Anne Boleyn, made archbishop of Canterbury by Elizabeth, vii. 355; compiles ordinances respecting the dress of the clergy, &c., viii. 88; his zeal against the puritans, 160; succeeded by Grindal, 161.

——, Dr., bishop of Oxford, recommended by James II. as president of Magdalen college, in the place of Hough, who had been chosen by the fellows, xiv. 152.

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- Shaw, Dr., employed by Gloucester to preach against the legitimacy of the children of Edward IV. *v.* 334.
- Ship-money, plan for raising that tax proposed by Noy, *x.* 27 ; Charles makes sir J. Finch lord chief justice, that he may prevail upon the courts to declare the tax legal, 29 ; it is opposed by Hampden, who refuses to pay his assessment, 31 ; the matter discussed by the judges, 32.
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- , earl of, Mary, queen of Scots, committed to his custody, and he is made to engage that she shall be put to death on the first attempt to rescue her, *viii.* 78 ; appointed lord high steward on Norfolk's trial, 100.
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- Sicily, bestowed by Innocent IV. on Edmund, second son of Henry III. *iii.* 146 ; claimed by Manfred for his nephew Conradine, 147 ; conquered by Charles of Anjou, 151 ; seized from him by Peter of Arragon, 268 ; recovered from Peter's son, James, by Charles, 269.
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- Richard Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, v. 386 ; proclaimed as Edward VI. 388 ; joined by the earl of Lincoln, 390 ; lands in Furness, 391 ; defeated at the battle of Stoke, 393 ; pardoned, and made a scullion in the royal kitchen, 394.
- Skelton, ambassador from James II. to the States, offends both them and the prince of Orange, xiv. 174 ; recalled from Paris by James, for countenancing Louis's threatening message to the States, and committed to the Tower, 224 ; is made governor of the Tower on the removal of sir Edw. Hales, 261.
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- Slingsby, sir H., tried and condemned for attempting to corrupt the fidelity of the garrison at Hull, xi. 339.
- Somerset, duke of, surrenders Rouen and the rest of Normandy to Charles VII. v. 169 ; returns from France, and is received into favour by Henry VI. 187 ; imprisoned in order to satisfy the duke of York, 191 ; liberated, 198 ; slain at the battle of St. Alban's, 200.
- , duke of, his lands restored by Edward IV. v. 240 ; routed at the battle of Hexham, taken, and beheaded, 243.
- , duke of, takes sanctuary in the church after the battle of Tewkesbury, and is put to death, v. 287.
- , Edward Seymour, duke of (earl of Hertford), appointed protector, and guardian to Edward VI. vii. 5 ; removes the earl of Southampton from the chancellorship, 12 ; is made independent of the council, 13 ; concludes treaties with the murderers of cardinal Bethune, and plans a marriage between Edward VI. and the young queen of Scots, 17 ; invades Scotland, 19 ; defeats the Scots at Pinkey, and returns to England, 21 ; signs the warrant for his brother's (sir T. Seymour) execution, 49 ; his address to the Scots, 52 ; seeks to make peace with Scotland, but foiled by the council, 66 ; his conduct excites enmity, 67 ; a party formed against him by Warwick, 69 ; abandoned by his secretary, 70 ; accused and sent to the Tower, 72 ; charges brought against him, 75 ; his submissive acknowledgment, *ibid.* ; liberated, 76 ; fresh dissensions between him and Warwick, 105 ; he is arrested, with many of his friends, 110 ; depositions against him, 112 ; his trial, 113 ; condemned, 114 ; executed, 116.
- , Carr, earl of, accidentally introduced to the notice of James I. while a youth, ix. 140 ; the king's attachment to him, 141 ; made viscount Rochester, 142 ; employs sir T. Overbury as his assistant in public business, *ibid.* ; marries Frances Howard, the divorced countess of Essex, 147 ; succeeds Suffolk as chamberlain, 151 ; his influence declines on Villiers being taken into the king's favour, and he is arrested on suspicion of being accessory to the death of Overbury, 153 ; endeavours

- to escape a trial, 159; is convicted, but pardoned, 161; his petition to Charles for the recovery of his property refused, *ibid.*
- Somerset, duke of, refuses to introduce the papal nuncio at court, in the reign of James II. xiv. 156.
- Southampton, earl of, the command of the cavalry in Ireland bestowed on him by Essex, contrary to Elizabeth's command, viii. 433; made prisoner with him, 450; his trial, 451; defence, 453; is reprieved, after Essex's execution, but detained in the Tower, 464; liberated and restored to his estates by James, ix. 7.
- Southwold Bay, battle of, in which the duke of York defeats the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter, xii. 218.
- Southworth, a catholic clergyman, executed by Cromwell, xi. 211.
- Spenser, Hugh, account of, iii. 432; banished with his son, 434; returns, 436; created earl of Winchester, 441; surrenders Bristol to Isabella, queen of Edward II. 457; is executed, 458.
- , Hugh, son of the preceding, marries the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, iii. 431; claims the estate of John de Mowbray as forfeit to him, and thereby excites the enmity of the lords of the marches, *ibid.*; the earl of Lancaster demands from Edward II. the banishment of the Spensers, 433; Spenser returns from banishment, and appeals against his sentence, 436; his petition granted, 441; arrested by the earl of Leicester, 459; executed, 460.
- , Henry, bishop of Norwich, puts down the insurgents in the reign of Richard II. iv. 216; engages to serve against France, and takes Gravelines and Dunkirk, 253; on his return is accused in parliament of having been bribed by France, 254.
- , lady, liberates the young earl of March and his brother, in the reign of Henry IV. iv. 399.
- Squires, a soldier, executed for a pretended attempt to poison queen Elizabeth, viii. 416.
- Stafford, Thomas, grandson of the duke of Buckingham, lands at Scarborough, and publishes a proclamation against queen Mary, vii. 309; surrenders to the earl of Westmoreland, 310.
- , Thomas Howard, viscount, committed to the Tower with lords Powis, Petre, Arundel, and Belasyse, xiii. 86; his trial, 227; his defence, 234; is condemned, 239; his speech to the house of lords, 242; the sheriffs object to mitigating his punishment, 245; his execution, 248; his attainder reversed, xiv. 33.
- Stamford, earl of, escapes trial for his share in Monmouth's rebellion by the prorogation of parliament, xiv. 91.
- Stanley, lord, father-in-law to the earl of Richmond (Henry VII.), favours shown to, and mistrust entertained of, him by Richard III. v. 361.
- , sir W. executed for abetting the designs of Perkin Warbeck, v. 426.

- Star-chamber, jurisdiction of, viii. 503 ; trials in the reign of Charles I. x. 9.
- Stayley, a catholic banker, tried and executed on a charge of treason connected with Oates' plot, xiii. 107.
- Steelyard, merchants of, or Easterlings, suppressed by Mary, vii. 339.
- Stephen, king, his pretensions to the crown, ii. 225 ; his coronation, 227 ; his character, 228 ; his concessions to the prelates and barons, 229 ; opposes the invasion of David of Scotland, 231 ; the latter defeated in the battle of the Standard, 236 ; Stephen imprisons the bishops of Sarum, Lincoln, and Ely, 239 ; permits Matilda to proceed to Bristol, 244 ; made prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, 247 ; his brother Henry espouses and openly defends the cause of Matilda, 249 ; Stephen released after Matilda's flight from Winchester, 255 ; he besieges her in Oxford, 257 ; quarrels with the barons and clergy, 259 ; adopts prince Henry, Matilda's son, as his successor, 262 ; his death, 264 ; calamities in his reign, *ibid.*
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- Storey, Dr., Bonner's assessor, history of, viii. 514 ; inveigled over from Flanders, and tried and executed for treason, 515.
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, earl of, succeeds lord Falkland as governor of Ireland, x. 37 ; designs to claim Connaught for the crown, 44 ; brings Mountnorris to trial, 48 ; defends himself, before the king, from the charge of despotic measures, 49 ; created earl of Strafford, 84 ; impeached of high treason, 107 ; his trial, 117 ; charges brought against him, 120 ; bill of attainder passed against him by the commons, 124 ; his defence, 125 ; Charles' efforts to save him, 127 ; Strafford's letter to him, 131 ; plan proposed by the king to save his life, 134, *note* ; his execution, 135.
- Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, accused by Edward III. of having intercepted the supplies, iv. 47 ; refused admission to the parliament, 48.
- Straw, Jack, a priest, a leader of the insurgents in Wat Tyler's rebellion, iv. 237.
- Strongbow, Richard, earl of Strigul, engages to assist Dermot, king of Leinster, ii. 363 ; arrives in Ireland, 365 ; marries Dermot's daughter, and succeeds him, *ibid.* ; yields up Dublin, &c. to Henry II. 367 ; his death, 370.
- Stuart, lord James, natural brother to Mary of Scots, appointed by her one of her chief ministers, vii. 434 ; created earl of Murray, 440. See *Murray*.
- , lady Arabella, cousin to James I. he proposes to marry her to the duke of Lennox, and acknowledge him as his presumptive heir, viii. 419 ; plan to marry her to the cardinal Farnese, and support her pretension to the throne on the death of Elizabeth, 478 ; placed in custody by Cecil, ix. 3 ; a pension granted to her by James, 132 ; privately married to William

- Seymour, *ibid.*; her husband sent to the Tower, and herself committed to the custody of sir T. Parry, 133; attempts to escape, but is detected and imprisoned in the Tower, where she dies insane, 134.
- Suffolk, Michael de la Pole, earl of, chancellor in the reign of Richard II. impeached, *iv.* 281; escapes to France, 291; dies at Paris, 296.
- , William de la Pole, earl of, succeeds the earl of Salisbury as commander at the siege of Orleans, *v.* 103; besieged in Jargeau, 111; made prisoner, 112; negotiates the marriage of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, 157; created duke, 173; charges against him, *ibid.*; impeached, 175; banished, 177; captured at sea, 179; and executed, 180.
- , Edmund, earl of, second son of William, duke of, takes shelter at the court of his aunt Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, *v.* 452; settles in the dominions of the archduke Philip, 453; given up by him to Henry VII. *ibid.*; sent to the Tower, 454.
- , Brandon, duke of, conducts Mary, sister of Henry VIII. and bride of Louis XII. to France, *vi.* 42; marries her after the death of Louis, 43; invades France, 98; disbands his army, 99.
- , the marquis of Dorset (father of lady Jane Gray), made duke of, *vii.* 110; endeavours to excite a rebellion in Warwickshire, and is pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, 210; imprisoned, *ibid.*; he and his brother, sir Thomas Gray, executed, 223.
- , earl of, lord treasurer in the reign of James I. and Somerset's father-in-law, tried for peculation, *ix.* 221.
- Sully, duke of, sent by Henry IV. as ambassador to James I. *ix.* 9.
- Sumptuary laws, in the reign of Edward IV. *v.* 246, *note.*
- Sunderland, earl of, succeeds Williamson as second secretary of state, *xiii.* 141; assists in forming the new council in 1679, *ibid.*; espouses the interests of the prince of Orange, 209; attempts to overcome Charles's opposition to the bill of exclusion, 251; he with Essex and Temple dismissed from office, 284; is reconciled with the duke of York, 317; obtains a place in the cabinet on James's accession, *xiv.* 7; forms a secret cabal with catholics against Rochester, 8; advocates James's projects, 82; made president of the council on Halifax's removal, 93; obtains a pension from Louis XIV. for opposing an alliance against France, 98; pretends to be converted to catholicism, 159; as does lord Spenser, his eldest son, *ibid.*, *note*; dissuades James from requiring the arrest of suspected persons, 239; is removed from office, 241; publishes a vindication of his conduct in 1689, 396.
- Surrey, earl of, he and his son, lord Thomas Howard, advance against the Scots, *vi.* 30; gain the battle of Flodden, in which James IV. is slain, 33; created duke of Norfolk, 38.
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- mand of his fleet on his departure from England, vi. 85; he succeeds the earl of Kildare in Ireland, 86; heads an expedition against France, 87; marches into Scotland to oppose the regent Albany, 93; Albany abandons the war, 95; accused of aspiring to the hand of the princess Mary, 464; arrested, *ibid.*; executed, 467; specimen of his poetry, 468, *note*.
- Sussex, earl of, lord deputy of Ireland, recovers two districts, which he forms into King's and Queen's county, vii. 340; is one of the commissioners to adjudge the cause between Mary of Scots and the regent Murray, viii. 25; sent against the insurgents under Westmoreland and Northumberland, 67; enters Scotland, 52.
- Sweating-sickness, in the reign of Henry VII. v. 372.
- Sweyn, king of Denmark, in conjunction with Olave, invades England, i. 342; his indignation at the departure of his ally, 343; death of his sister Gunhilda, 346; revenges the massacre of the Danes in England, 347; his last invasion for the conquest of England, 355; devastations committed by him, 356; proclaims himself king, 357; his death, 358; succeeded by his son Canute, *ibid.* See *Canute*.
- , son of earl Godwin, outlawed by Edward the Confessor, ii. 405; murders his cousin Beorn, 406; pardoned by Edward, *ibid.*; rebels, with his father and brother, 408; banished, 409; his pilgrimage and penance, 413.
- Sydney, Algernon, son of the earl of Leicester, offers his services to the Dutch, xii. 138; obtains assistance from Louis XIV. to enable his party to oppose the government, 148; is one of the leaders in the Rye-house plot, xiii. 326; imprisoned in the Tower with lord Russell and Wildman, 327; his trial, 343; execution, 353; character and public life, *ibid.*
- , (afterwards earl of Romney), forms an association, who invite over the prince of Orange, xiv. 314.
- Syndercombe, Miles, employed by colonel Sexby to assassinate Cromwell, xi. 316; tried and condemned, but found dead in his bed, 318.
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- Tallages, claimed by the popes from the English clergy, iii. 137.
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- , sir W., sent to the Hague, to propose that the States should unite with England and Spain against France, xii. 188 recalled after negotiating the triple alliance, 241; concludes a treaty at the Hague, between England and the States, against France, xiii. 56; sent to Nimeguen to guarantee certain places

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- Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, threatened with an impeachment, after the protector's death, xi. 381 ; purchases the forbearance of his enemies by furnishing Willis with intelligence, 397.
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- , Mr., sir T. Gascoign's nephew, executed for treason, xiii. 206.
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- Tournay, besieged by Edward III. iv. 44 ; surrenders to Henry VIII. vi. 37.
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- Turenne, commands the allied army against the Spaniards and the duke of York, xi. 325 ; defeats Don Juan and the duke, 344.
- Turketul, chancellor, charges the Scots at the battle of Brunanburgh, i. 290 ; account of him, 306 ; restores the abbey of Croyland, of which he becomes abbot, 308.
- Turner, sir James, sent into the west of Scotland to levy fines, &c. among the covenanters, xii. 161 ; he is made prisoner by the insurgents, 162.
- Tweddale, earl of, succeeds Rothés, as high commissioner of Scotland, xii. 335 ; offers the 'indulgence' to the clergy, 338.
- Tyler, Wat, heads the rebellion in the reign of Richard II. iv. 238 ; killed by Walworth, the lord mayor, 245.
- Tyndal, William, prints his version of the Bible in the Netherlands, vi. 361 ; archbishop Warham orders all copies of it to be given up, *ibid.*
- Tyrconnel, Richard Talbot, earl of, informed against by Oates, xiii. 87 ; appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland by James II. xiv. 134 ; is made lord deputy on Clarendon's being recalled, 136 ; aims at rendering Ireland independent of England in the event of the prince of Orange's succeeding to the crown, *ibid.* ; solicits permission to hold a parliament, but is refused by James, who is taught to suspect his measures, 138 ; Bonrepaus' letter explaining Tyrconnel's plans, 394.
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- Uhtred, earl of Northumbria, son-in-law to Ethelred, murdered by Thurebrand, the Dane, i. 362 ; account of, *ibid.*, *note*.
- Villeins, the charters of emancipation granted them by Richard II. repealed by parliament, iv. 248.
- Unitarians, burnt for heresy in the reign of James I. ix. 217 ; their origin in England, xi. 243, *note*.
- Vorstius, succeeds Arminius in his professorship at Leyden, ix. 171 ; Winwood, the English ambassador, accuses him to the States and James I. of impiety, 172 ; James publishes a " Declaration " against him, 174 ; he is ordered to quit Leyden, and refute the doctrines imputed to him, *ibid.* ; his writings condemned by the synod of Dort, 176.
- Vortigern, invites over the Saxon chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, i. 91.
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- Waller, Edmund (the poet), forms a plot to unite Charles I. and his parliament, x. 210; he is apprehended, 211; saves his life by his submission, but is heavily fined, 213.
- , sir William, account of, x. 215; defeated by lord Wilmot, *ibid.*
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- Walworth, mayor of London, kills Wat Tyler, iv. 245.
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- Wakeman, sir G., physician to the queen of Charles II. tried for conspiracy, xiii. 176; he and his companions acquitted, 177.
- Warbeck, Perkin, lands at Cork, and gives himself out as Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV. v. 415; the earl of Desmond declares in his favour, *ibid.*; he is acknowledged in France and received by the duchess of Burgundy, 416; his parentage, 417; Henry VII. endeavours to obtain possession of him, *ibid.*; he is betrayed by his associates, 418; several of his partisans executed, 419; attempts to land near Deal, 422; returns to Flanders, 423; is received in Scotland by James IV. 425; marries lady Catherine Gordon, 426; invades England, *ibid.*; James makes peace with England, and Warbeck retires to Cork, 431; lands in Cornwall, *ibid.*; advances against Henry, but flees from battle to the sanctuary

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- Wareme, earl, escapes with Henry III.'s brothers at the battle of Lewes, iii. 185; defeated by Wallace, 307.
- Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, resigns the chancellorship, and is succeeded by Wolsey, vi. 57.
- Warner, sir John, turns catholic, and becomes confessor to James II. xiv. 155, *note*.
- Warwick, earl of, succeeds the duke of Exeter as guardian to Henry VI. v. 139.
- , earl of, surnamed the *King-maker*, the custody of the sea bestowed on him by Henry VI. v. 207; captures part of the Lubeck fleet, *ibid.*; retires to Calais, 210; superseded by the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, 211; lands with an army in Kent, 213; takes the king prisoner and conducts him to London, 214; defeated by the queen at St. Alban's, 223; gains the battle of Towton, which secures the crown to Edward IV. 233; besieges sir Ralph Gray in Bamborough castle, 243; his brother, lord Montague, made earl of Northumberland, 245; his discontent at the favour shown by Edward to his queen's family, 252; his brother George, bishop of Exeter, promoted to the see of York, *ibid.*; the earl's hospitality, 253, *note*; he is sent to treat with Louis XI. at Rouen, 254; suspected of being attached to the Lancastrians, 255; reason of his irritation against Edward, 257, *note*; his daughter, Isabella, marries the duke of Clarence, 258; he and Clarence detain Edward a prisoner, 263; they flee after the defeat of the insurgents at the battle of Erpingham, 268; are received by Louis XI. 272; Warwick's daughter, Anne, married to prince Edward, son of Henry VI. 273; restores Henry, 277; slain at the battle of Barnet, 281.
- , Edward Plantagenet, son to the duke of Clarence, created earl of, by Edward IV. v. 370; imprisoned in the Tower by Henry VII. *ibid.*; personated by Lambert Simnel, 386; and again by Ralph Wulford, 436; arraigned and executed, 438.
- , Dudley, viscount Lisle, created earl of, vii. 6; accompanies the protector, Somerset, in his expedition against Scotland, 19; defeats the insurgents in Ket's rebellion, 64; becomes the head of a party against Somerset, 69; forbids obedience to him, *ibid.*; accuses him of misdemeanours, 71; opposes the restoring any authority to the episcopal courts, 74; made lord high admiral, 77; his eldest son marries Somerset's daughter, Anne, 106; fresh dissensions between him and Somerset, *ibid.*; their reconciliation, 107; he procures the general wardenship of the Scottish marches, 109; created duke of Northumberland, 110; Somerset and his friends arrested, *ibid.* See *Northumberland*.

- Waterford, the synod of, condemns the secret treaty concluded by Glamorgan, x. 354.
- Watson, catholic missionary, writes in favour of James I.'s succession to the throne, but is neglected by him, and induced to enter into a plot to wrest from him concessions in favour of the catholics, ix. 14; is apprehended, 17; and executed, 22.
- Welles, sir Robert, heads an insurrection against Edward IV. and is killed at the battle of Erpingham, v. 267.
- Wessex, kingdom of, founded by Cerdic, i. 96; Cuichelin and Cynegils attempt to assassinate Edwin, king of Northumbria, 121, 187; Coinwalch dethroned by Penda, 135, 188; battle of Wodensburg, 168; the king of Wessex rendered tributary to Mercia, 170; the Mercians defeated by Cuthred, 171; kings, Ceolric, Ceolwulf, 185; Cynegils, and Cuichelm, 186; battle at Cirencester against Penda, 187; Coinwalch, *ibid.*; he abjures paganism, 188; defeats the Britons, *ibid.*; Sexburga, his widow, 189; an aristocracy formed, *ibid.*; Centwin, 190; Cædwalla, *ibid.*; his conquests, 191; takes the Isle of Wight, 192; Ina, 194; his code of laws, 195; dies at Rome, 199; Æthelheard, *ibid.*; Cuthred, 200; the independence of Wessex secured by him, *ibid.*; Sigebyrcht, *ibid.*; Cynewulf, 201; he is murdered by Cyneheard, Sigebyrcht's brother, 202; Brihtric, 204; Egbert, 205; he subdues the Britons, 206; and Mercia and Northumbria, *ibid.*; invasions of the Danes, 210; Egbert's death, *ibid.*; Ethelwulf, 211; division of his dominions among his sons, 219; Ethelbald, *ibid.*; Ethelbert, 221; Ethelred, 224; Wessex invaded by the Danes, 229; Alfred the Great, 232; Edward, 272.
- West Indies, Penn and Venables' expedition against Hispaniola, xi. 257; its failure, 259; Jamaica ceded to the English, *ibid.*
- Westmoreland, earl of, brother-in-law to the duke of Norfolk, joins the earl of Northumberland in attempting to liberate Mary, queen of Scots, and exciting an insurrection in her favour, viii. 53; they take possession of Hartlepool, and solicit the aid of the catholic gentry, 56; they flee into Scotland, 58; Westmoreland and some of his followers escape to the continent, *ibid.*
- Westminster, church of, built by Edward the Confessor, i. 429.
- Weston, sir Richard, chancellor of the exchequer, made earl of Portland, ix. 410; denounced by sir J. Elliot, as an enemy to the commonwealth, 411.
- Wexford, massacre at, by Cromwell's troops, xi. 39.
- Weyland, chief justice of King's Bench, in the reign of Edward I. abjures the realm, iii. 363; the option given to him to do so, or stand his trial, *ibid.*, *note*.
- Wharton, lord, one of the four lords committed to the Tower, in 1677, xiii. 14.
- Wheat, price of, in 1258, iii. 161, *note*.
- Whig, the name first bestowed on the covenanters, xii. 163; xiii. 199; that and the term 'Tory' adopted by the respective parties, *ibid.*

- White, Thomas, a secular clergyman, publishes the "Grounds of Obedience and Government," xi. 32.
- Whitelock, appointed one of the commissioners of the great seal, after the death of Charles I. xi. 5 ; advises Cromwell to place Charles on the throne on certain conditions, 167.
- Whitgift, archbishop, prepares three articles as a test of orthodoxy, vii. 162.
- Wickham, William, bishop of Winchester. See *Winchester*.
- Wight, Isle of, conquered by Cædwalla, king of Wessex, i. 192 ; the brothers of Oswald put to death by him, 193.
- Wilfrid, bishop of York, i. 150 ; deposed by archbishop Theodore, 152 ; restored by Alfred, 156 ; assists Cædwalla, the banished prince of Wessex, 190 ; receives from him a grant of land, in the Isle of Wight, 192.
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- , son of Robert of Normandy, protected from Henry I. by his uncle, Helic de St. Sacn, ii. 170 ; by Fulk of Anjou, 171 ;

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- William, eldest son of Henry I. shipwrecked with his sister, ii. 177; his vicious character, 180.
- II. of Sicily, marries Joan, daughter of Henry, ii. 433; his bequests to Henry, 434.
- Longsword, natural son of Henry II. ii. 434.
- , king of Scotland, joins prince Henry, son of Henry II. in his attempt to obtain the kingdom, ii. 384; taken prisoner, and confined in the castle of Falaise, 396; does homage to Henry, *ibid.*; is released, 397.
- Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and lord keeper, appointed Bacon's successor in the latter office, ix. 259; threatened with a prosecution by parliament, 306; deprived of the great seal, which is bestowed on sir Thomas Coventry, 340; information filed against him in the star-chamber, x. 11; fined and imprisoned, 13; made archbishop of York, 162; impeached by the commons, with eleven other prelates, 163.
- Willis, sir Richard, his singular treachery towards Charles II. and singular stipulations with Cromwell, xi. 336; refuses to meet Charles at Calais, 396.
- Willoughby, sir F., governor of Dublin, secures the castle against the insurgents, x. 173.
- Wilnot, lord, made earl of Rochester, xi. 249. See *Rochester*.
- Winchelsey, Robert de, archbishop of Canterbury, resists the exactions of Edward I. from the clergy, and retires to a parsonage, iii. 343; the earls of Hereford and Norfolk act in concert with him, 345; the primate reconciled with Edward, 346.
- Winchester, a monastery, &c. founded by Coinwalch, i. 188; the city sacked by the Northmen, 222; the minster built by Edward, son of Alfred, 280; synod, in 1139, ii. 242; the city besieged by the empress Matilda, 253; plundered and set on fire, 254.
- , Henry, bishop of, brother of king Stephen, ii. 225; summons Stephen before a synod at Winchester, 241; Matilda entrusted to him, 244; joins her, 247; defends his conduct before the synod at Winchester, 256; deprived of his legatine authority, 260.
- , William Wickham, bishop of, condemned to lose his temporalities, iv. 144.
- , Henry Beaufort, bishop of. See *Beaufort*.
- , the statute of, revived by Edward I. iii. 363.
- Windebank, secretary, impeached by the commons for treason, saves himself by escaping to France, x. 108.
- Winter, Thomas, arranges a plan for an invasion by the Spaniards, ix. 11; is the first to whom Catesby reveals his designs, 43; expresses his horror of the plot, but is persuaded to enter into it, *ibid.*; repairs to Flanders to consult Velasco, the Spanish ambassador, 44; engages Guy Fawkes as an associate, 45; his brother Robert joins the conspirators, 52; he is informed of the mysterious letter received by lord Mounteagle,

- 70 ; remains with Percy to superintend the operations in London, 73 ; is made prisoner, on the discovery of the plot, 77 ; executed with the other conspirators, 79.
- Witenagemot, account of, i. 485 ; its authority, 487.
- Witt, de, Dutch admiral, he and Van Tromp destroy a Spanish fleet under Aquendo, x. 85 ; engagement between him and Blake, xi. 158.
- , pensionary of Holland, takes the command of the fleet and proceeds to the relief of the Dutch merchantmen at Bergen, xii. 136 ; enters into a negociation with Louis XIV. 141 ; vows revenge against the English for burning one hundred and fifty merchantmen, and the town of Brandasis, 147 ; sails with De Ruyter to the Nore, 167 ; advances up the Thames and Medway, 168 ; assassinated by the mob in Holland, 275.
- Wolsey, cardinal, his first rise to preferment, vi. 45 ; named cardinal by Leo X. 52 ; his power, 56 ; wealth, 58 ; character, 59 ; his foreign politics, 62 ; his hopes on Henry's aspiring to the imperial crown, 65 ; resentment toward the duke of Buckingham, 74 ; arbitrates between Charles V. and Francis I. 79 ; aspires to the papacy on the death of Leo X. 82 ; his difficulties in raising money for the war against France, 99 ; aspires to the papacy on the death of Adrian VI. 100 ; his attempts to raise money defeated, 108 ; orders all copies of Luther's writings to be delivered up, 142 ; goes to France to negotiate with Francis, 164 ; promises to unite a French princess to Henry, 166 ; his perplexity with regard to Henry's divorce, and his opposition to his wishes, 181 ; after the failure of Campeggio's mission, Anne Boleyn becomes his enemy, 207 ; his disgrace, 208 ; he retires to Asher, 210 ; afterwards to York-shire, 213 ; is arrested for treason, 215 ; his death, *ibid.*
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- Wulford, Ralph, personates Richard Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, v. 436 ; taken and executed, 437.
- Wulphere, king of Mercia, i. 165 ; disastrous close of his reign, 166.
- Wyat, sir Thomas, engages in an insurrection against Mary, at the instigation of the earl of Devonshire, vii. 211 ; defeats the royalists under sir H. Jerningham, 212 ; endeavours to surprise Ludgate, 216 ; surrenders to sir Maurice Berkeley, and carried to the Tower, 219 ; executed, 224.
- Wycliffe, John, history of, iv. 213 ; attacks the friars, 214 ; obtains the wardenship of Canterbury-hall, Oxford, from archbishop Islip, *ibid.* ; removed by archbishop Langham, 215 ; his preferments, *ibid.* ; he inveighs against the beneficed clergy, 216 ; is summoned before the primate, 217, 256 ; petitions parliament, 258 ; his death, 260 ; doctrines, 261 ; his tenets, relative to the seven sacraments, 264 ; to matrimony, 265 ; to the doctrine of purgatory, &c., *ibid.* ; his translation of the Bible, 266.

- Yellow plague, ravages of, in the seventh century, i. 145.
- York, city of, taken by the Northmen in the ninth century, i. 224 ; besieged and plundered by the Conqueror, ii. 31 ; taken by the Danes, 32 ; Edward II. takes refuge from the Scots, who pursue him to the gates, iii. 442.
- , archbishop of, in the reign of Richard II. accused of treason by the duke of Gloucester and his confederates, iv. 289 ; conceals himself, 291 ; accepts a curacy in Flanders, 296, *note*.
- , Scroop, archbishop of, see *Scroop*.
- , George Nevil, archbishop of, brother to the earls of Warwick and Northumberland, raised from the see of Exeter, v. 252 ; Edward IV. committed to his custody by Warwick and Clarence, 263 ; afterwards invites him to an entertainment with a treacherous design, 265 ; imprisoned by Edward, and his property confiscated, 292.
- , Edmund, duke of, uncle to Richard II. appointed regent during the king's absence in Ireland, iv. 322, 352 ; espouses the duke of Lancaster's cause, 355.
- , Richard, duke of, obliged to exchange the regency of France for Ireland, v. 165 ; returns to England, and conducts himself insolently towards Henry VI. 187 ; proposed in parliament as heir apparent, 188 ; made protector in consequence of Henry's imbecility, 197 ; his authority terminated by the king's recovery, 198 ; he raises his standard, and defeats the royalists at the battle of St. Alban's, 199 ; becomes protector a second time, 202 ; complaints against him on Henry's recovery, 204 ; condemned to pay a fine to the duchess of Somerset, 206 ; joins the earl of Salisbury after the battle of Bloreheath, 209 ; flees to Ireland, 210 ; claims the crown after the defeat of the Lancastrians, and the king's being made prisoner, 214 ; objections made by the lords, 218 ; he is declared heir apparent, 220 ; is slain at the battle of Wakefield, 221.
- , Edward, duke of (Edward IV.) son of the preceding, defeats the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Cross, v. 222 ; Henry VI. orders his arrest, 224 ; but he proceeds to London, and is proclaimed king, 225. See *Edward IV.*
- , sir Roland, persuades sir W. Stanley to give up the fort of Daventer to Philip as the lawful sovereign, viii. 312.
- , James, duke of, son of Charles I. serves under Turenne, xi. 281 ; appointed by Mazarin captain-general in the army of Italy, *ibid* ; commanded by his brother to resign, *ibid* ; and to dismiss sir J. Berkeley, whom he follows to France, 282 ; returns to Bruges, *ibid* ; commands the English exiles against the allies under Turenne, 325 ; repulsed at Mardyke, 342 ; his gallantry at the battle of the Danes, 343 ; but is obliged to save himself by flight, 344 ; it is proposed that he should land in Kent, to aid a general rising of the royalists, 395 ; prevented by hearing of their being put down, 400 ; receives a grant of all the lands held in Ireland by the regicides, xii. 75, *note* ; he privately marries Clarendon's daughter, 78 ; ceases to visit her, in consequence of imputations on her character, 80 ; publicly

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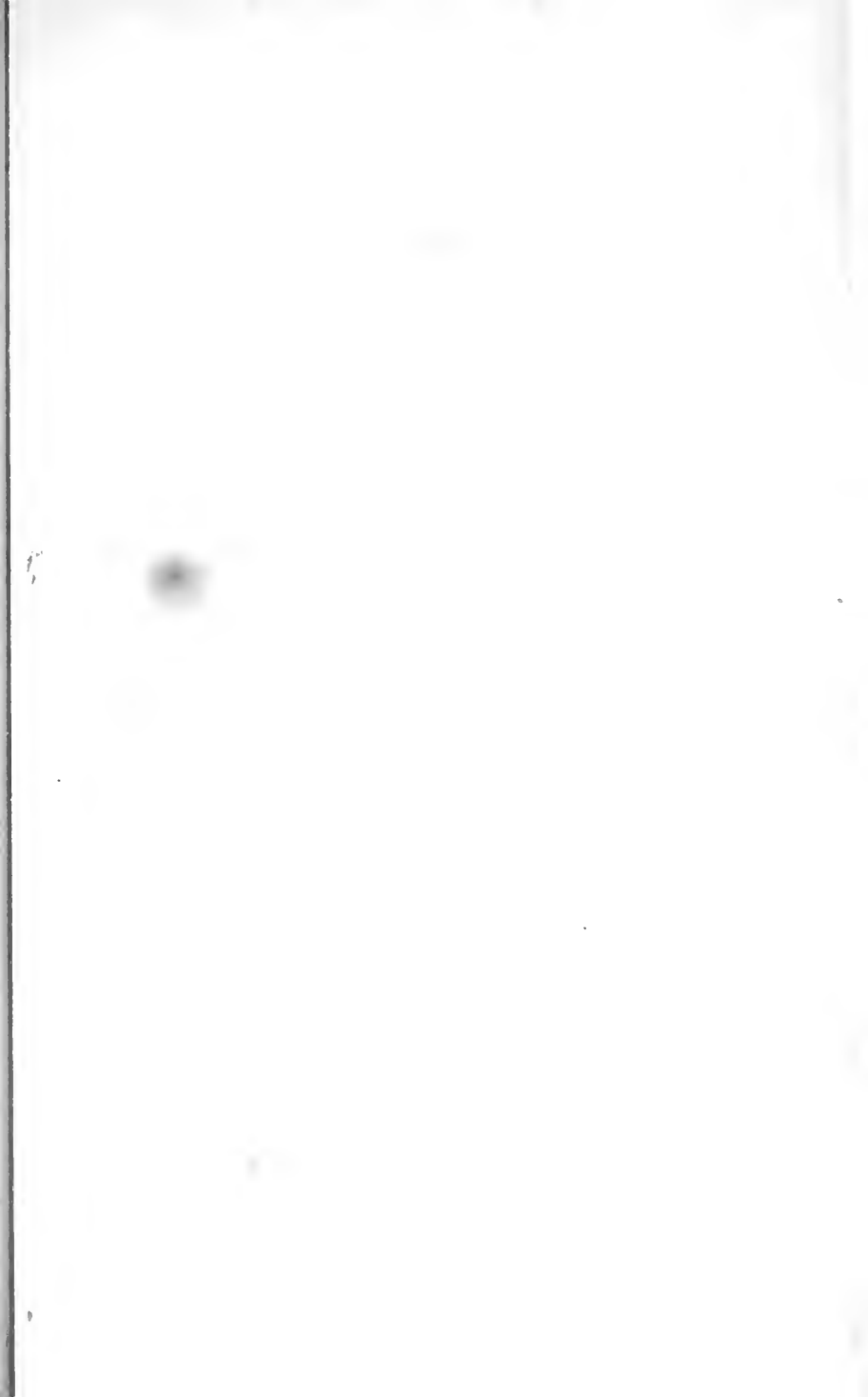
Yorkshire plot, account of, xiii. 205.

ERRATA.

VOL. XIV.

Page 40, for *Ulic*, in text and note, read *Flic*.

— 253 and 254, in margin, for *Dec.* 22, *Dec.* 23, read *Nov.* 22,
Nov. 23.





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